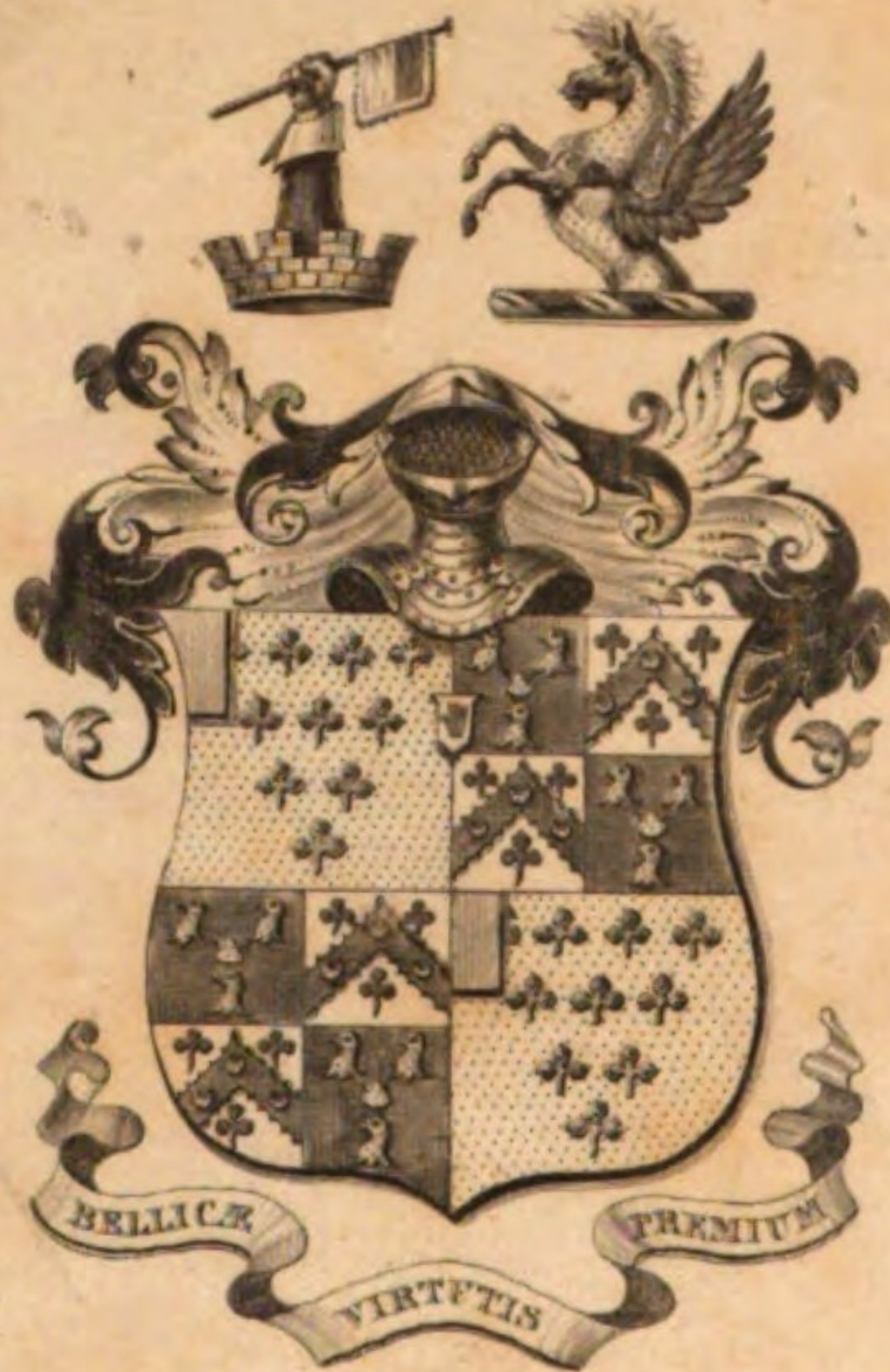


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Sir Tho. E. M. Turlton, Bar.

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A
JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDISH AMBASSY,
IN THE YEARS M.DCC.LIII. AND M.DCC.LIV.

VOL. I.

A
JOURNAL

OF THE

SWEDISH AMBASSY

IN THE YEARS MDCCIII. AND MDCCIV.

Vol. I.

A
JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDISH AMBASSY,
IN THE YEARS M.DC.LIII. AND M.DC.LIV.
FROM THE
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
AND IRELAND.

WRITTEN BY THE AMBASSADOR
THE LORD COMMISSIONER WHITELOCKE.

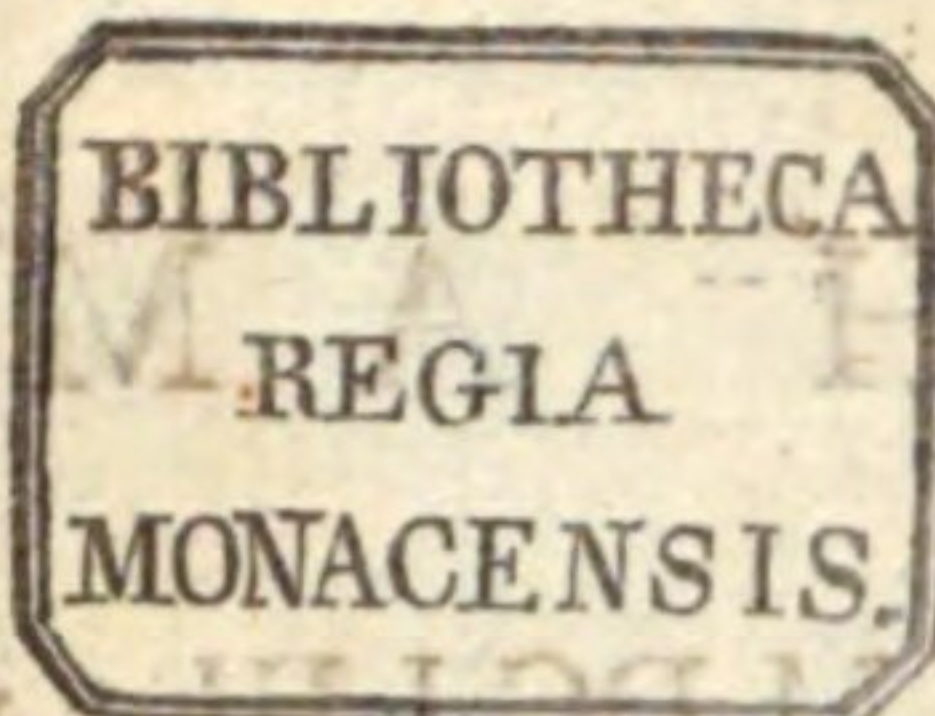
WITH
AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. BECKET AND P. A. DE HONDT, IN THE STRAND,
BOOKSELLERS TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCE OF WALES
AND BISHOP OF OSNABURGH,

M DCC LXXII.



JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDESBURY
IN THE YEARS 1811 AND 1812
FROM THE
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
AND IRELAND.
WRITTEN BY THE AMBASSADOR
THE LORD COMMISSIONER WHITELOCK.
AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.
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AND PRINCE OF GERMANY.
MDCCLXII.



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE AUGUSTUS LORD VISCOUNT LUMLEY.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE papers which I have the honour to present to your Lordship, were drawn up by one whose singular praise it is, that he excelled as a man, a gentleman, a lawyer, and a statesman. I received them, (soon after the publication of his *Disquisitions on the Government of England*,) from his Grandson CARLETON WHITELOCKE of Prior's Wood near Dublin, Esq; by the favour of Lord Chancellor BOWES late of the Kingdom of Ireland, Archbishop SECKER late primate of all England, and ARTHUR ONSLOW, Esq; late speaker of the Commons of Great Britain: these very respectable personages being of opinion, that the *Journal of the*
a *Swedish*

DEDICATION.

Swedish Ambassy was due to the Publick; as a very considerable part of the author's *Memorials of English affairs*, the candor, accuracy, and usefulness of which work are so universally allowed.

It appears, by the first paper of the *Appendix*, upon what occasion, and with what intention, the Lord Commissioner WHITELOCKE put together that great work, which he chose to intitle *Remembrances of the Labours of Whitelocke, in the Annales of his Life, for the Instruction of his Children*. But such a work, and by such a father, is become the inheritance of every child whose abilities, and station in life, may at any time hereafter call upon him to deliberate for his Country; and for his family and person, as parts of the great whole. And I confess myself to be one of those who lament the suppression of that branch of the *Annales* which relates to the author himself, in his private capacity. For I am persuaded, with some better judges, that they would have afforded great pleasure, as well as instruction to the world, in their entire form. The first volume, containing the first twenty (and more) years of his life, may one day see the light; but the greatest part has hitherto escaped my inquiries.

Instruction.

DEDICATION.

Instruction by precept is slow, transient, and too often ineffectual for want of being duly understood: but instruction by example is quick, strong, permanent, and flattering to the mind in the light of a self-instructor. And this is founded in the nature of man, who acquires his general knowledge in this way. For precepts, or principles, are no other than general inferences from particular experiences; which are best understood, as well as best applied, by those who make them. And thus chiefly it is, that they become profitable helps to the mind; and the true grounds of judgment, as well as action.

In the following pages the political man, that master-builder! will find no contemptible model of doing business; the family man may also extract that which suits his laudable purposes; and the individual the moral and (let me say) the religious man, who alone adorns the rest, will see his form delineated, and be instructed where to seek his end. I assure myself, my dear Lord LUMLEY, that not a single act, amongst the many which occur in these papers, whether of prudence, fortitude, temperance, or justice, will escape your observation: but on the contrary, be molded into your very frame, and constitution. With respect to historical facts, the

DEDICATION.

curious searcher for anecdotes will here find an abundant treasure; and be enabled to fill up divers links in the chain of causes of certain events; and to mark more particularly the characters of the respectable personages, who figured during a remarkable period. Perhaps also, it may not be unprofitable to note the more rational, and temperate grounds, of some extraordinary occurrences.

Our author, being called to this important embassy by the voice of his country at a very critical time, seems to have entered upon his work with all the necessary qualifications. He was a man of sense, learning, integrity, spirit, temper, experience in business, and knowledge of the world: able to distinguish, choose, and execute whether by persuasion, or otherwise. He was thoroughly versed in the history, constitution, laws, revenues, force, trade and interests of his own country, and it's connections with others; and he made it his immediate study to be well informed of these very material particulars, respecting Sweden. Some sketches of this kind, howsoever imperfect, are preserved in the *Appendix*, as proofs of his method of proceeding; and more might have been added. Finally, he had a perfect intelligence concerning persons, and occurrences.

DEDICATION.

rences. And the event was answerable: for he perfected the important trust committed to his charge, surmounting all difficulties, without the least chicane of embassy; and he returned safe to his home laden with honours, in very adverse times, together with one hundred persons, all of whom he had carried out in his retinue.

But I will not anticipate such remarks as your Lordship cannot fail to make on perusing these papers: concerning which I have no other merit, than that of conveying them to you as faithfully as I could. They are printed literally from the author's own manuscript, which will be deposited in the British Museum for public inspection. Some particulars in the Appendix are collected from other manuscripts of the author and of his amanuensis; and these will likewise be deposited in due time. Perhaps an apology may be expected for such errors of the press as an unavoidable absence may have occasioned: but upon a careful revival, I have the pleasure to find that these errors are few; and being chiefly in the pointing, they cannot obstruct the sense to a careful reader.

The

DEDICATION.

The following particulars, respecting the author's family, I received from one of his grandsons; and I beg leave to subjoin them, in order to correct a mistake in a former publication.

Lord Commissioner, otherwise Sir BULSTRODE, WHITELOCKE was the son of Sir JAMES WHITELOCKE knight, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench in the reign of K. JAMES Ist, and originally of an ancient family in Bedfordshire. Our author's first marriage was with a Miss BENNET of the city of London, by whom he had one son Sir JAMES WHITELOCKE, who was settled at Trumpington near Cambridge, and left two sons, both of which died unmarried. His second wife was FRANCES daughter of Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham, and of FRANCES daughter of the Earl of RUTLAND: and by this second wife our author had nine children. His third wife was the widow WILSON (whose maiden name was CARLETON) who survived him; and by her also, he had several children. The eldest of this last marriage inherited Chilton Park in Wiltshire; and his son is now living. And at this day, of all Sir BULSTRODE's numerous issue, there are none left in the male line but Mr. WHITELOCKE late of Chilton Park aforesaid; Mr. CARLETON WHITELOCKE (who communicated

DEDICATION.

communicated this note and the manuscripts of the Embassy) and his son Mr. WHITELOCKE, now a student in the Middle Temple.

It remains, that I beg your Lordship's pardon for this address, which was drawn up in much too great a hurry, in the midst of very different employment; far remote from the necessary helps, and even from the book which is the subject matter. Such as it is, do me the favour to accept it in good part: and be assured that I am, with great truth and regard,

My dear Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient,
and most affectionate Servant,

MUSEUM, LONDON,
Jan^y. 1, 1772.

CHA. MORTON

DEDICATION.

communicated this note and the manuscripts of the
(Embassy) and his son Mr. WHITELOCKE, now a student
in the Middle Temple.

It remains, that I beg your Lordship's pardon for
this address, which was drawn up in much too great
a hurry, in the midst of very different employment;
far remote from the necessary helps, and even from the
book which is the subject matter. Such as it is, do
me the favour to accept it in good part: and be assured
that I am, with great truth and regard,

My dear Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most affectionate servant,

Museum, London,
Jan. 11. 1724.

CHAS. MORTON

JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDISH AMBASSY.
IN THE YEARES M.DC.LIII. AND M.DC.LIV.

AUGUST 23, 1653.

THE lord commissioner Whitelocke being in Bedfordshire, att the house of his kind friend Mr. Cokaine, he received letters from London from his old and faithfull fervant Mr. Daniell Earle ; part of them were to this effect.

“ When I waited on Sir Charles Oulsey, he was pleased
“ to tell me, that you were named by the councell of
“ state to goe ambassador into Sweden ; and that my lord
“ generall had undertaken to write to your lordship about
“ it. I presume ere this you have heard from him.”

With this Whitelocke was much surprised, it being altogether unexpected, and of vast concernment to him and his
Vol. I. A family,

1653. family, as well as to the publique; yett he shewed not
 much disturbance att the letter, butt communicated it to
 Aug. 23. his wife, and some few friends then with him, whoe were
 unwilling to believe it: butt his wife was much disquieted,
 whom Whitelocke sought to comfort, and perswade to a
 constant submission to the will of God, and not to be
 troubled att this or any other ill newes; since none could
 doe any thing against them, or to the least prejudice of
 them, butt what God should permit, who would cause all
 things to worke together for their good.

The letter was often read and paraphrased uppon, and
 severall meanings of it collected: butt Whitelocke saw it
 to be positive in the relation and newes, that he was named
 by the councill of state to go ambassador to Sweden; and
 the sence thereof was plaine, and too easy to be under-
 stood, though the grounds and occasions of this nomina-
 tion were not expressed.

24. Much discourse was between Whitelocke, and his wife
 and friends, uppon yesterdayes newes; and how it should
 come to passe, that he should be named for this employ-
 ment, when another had bin named for it before, the lord
 viscount L'Isle, eldest son to the earle of Leycester,
 who had undertaken it. Whitelocke told them, that it was
 true, that in the long parlement, before it was invaded
 and broken by Cromwell's forces, (which was an act of no
 lesse imprudence and rashnes, than of insolence,) that the
 lord viscount L'Isle was named by that parlement, and voted
 to goe ambassador to Sweden; that he accepted of the
 imployment, and had begun to make some preparations for
 it. Butt Whitelocke told them withall, which they remem-
 bered, that before the lord viscount L'Isle was named,
 Whitelocke was named in that parlement to goe ambassador
 to

to Sweden ; butt he was not then, nor is now, ambitious ^{1653.}
 of that honor, but sollicitated against it ; and it was not then ^{Aug. 24.}
 prosecuted, butt the lord viscount L'Isle named afterwards,
 who undertook the service, received money in part for the
 defraying of his expences : and how it should come to
 passe since, that he should be excused, and Whitelocke to
 be nominated for it, was hard to be apprehended. White-
 locke and his friends still expected to have further intelli-
 gence from London about this buisnes, butt none came :
 it being usuall for those gentlemen who voted his going to
 Sweden, to lett affayres remaine in suspence till called
 uppon by such as are more particularly concerned in them.
 Whitelocke held it not convenient for him (as yet) to take
 any notice of this vote of the councell, nor to hasten to
 London, butt continued in his retirement ; though not a
 little interrupted therein by the letter from Mr. Earle,
 yett he injoyed his privacy and recreations.

Letters were written this day by Whitelocke to Earle, ^{25.}
 that if he heard any thing further touching the buisnes of
 Sweden, he should informe his master thereof : yett not to
 be inquisitive about it, nor to speake with any of the
 councell (except Sir Charles Oulsey) concerning it ; leaft
 therby, the buisnes might be reminded and revived, which
 Whitelocke much rather desired, as to himselfe, might for
 ever dye and be forgotten.

The cautions which he gave to his old servant were fully
 and punctually observed by him ; and, the longer it was
 before Whitelocke heard further touching this buisnes, the
 more his hopes were increased that he might have the good
 fortune never to heare more of it.

1653. No further newes yett came of the buifnes of Sweden;
 ~~~~~ and Whitelocke, wife, and friends, were willing to per-  
 Aug. 26. fwade themselves, that a buifnes of this consequence could  
 not be so long neglected, and nothing to be done in it,  
 butt that (as to Whitelocke) the same was layd aside, and  
 that they should heare no more of it, which they promised  
 themselves; neverthelesse, they were not without some  
 dayly feare and expectation of that which they desired not  
 to know: and, in the meane time, the gentlemen, who  
 managed all att London, for a time forgatt this buifnes, as  
 a smalle matter scarce worthy their remembrance; although  
 themselves often acknowledged, that the safety and good  
 of this common-wealth, and of the whole protestant inter-  
 est, did depend upon it.

27. Still were Whitelocke, wife, and friends pleased, that no  
 further newes came of the Swedish buifnes, though they  
 heard of it too soon afterwards; and, in the meane time,  
 they were full of thoughts and discourfes, why the lord  
 viscount L'Isle should be excused from this service, which  
 before he had undertaken; and, on the other hand, why  
 Whitelocke should be the man pitched upon for this ser-  
 vice, whom they imagined not to be in so much favour  
 with Cromwell and his friends, as to be preferred to any  
 honorable imployment by them: he was left out of Crom-  
 well's councill, and out of that assembly which now sate  
 and called themselves a parlement; and he made no suit to  
 be of either of those councells.

To this it was said, that the lord viscount L'Isle might be  
 usefull heer in Cromwell's affayres, and was of the coun-  
 cell and little parlement, and therefore could not so well  
 be spared as Whitelocke, who, (although he were not much  
 in their favour who governed, whom he had opposed in  
 4 their



their exorbitant courses,) was the more likely to be sent 1653.  
abroad, that they might thereby be quit of his further op-  
posing them. Aug. 27.

The Lord's day, after publique exercises of religious 28.  
worship, Whitelocke retired himselfe to his private medita-  
tions upon the holy word of trueth, the greatest and  
highest comfort to a soul. He considered the vanity of  
earthly honours and preferments in this world, the incer-  
tainty, toyle, and daunger in them. He consulted his own  
heart, and found not the least inclination to accept of the  
high imployment, and honor, to which he heard the coun-  
cell had voted him; butt much rather wished a continu-  
ance of his privacy, and an exemption from publique  
charge and offices, from which he expected rather a further  
and totall dismission, which would have bin more content-  
ment and satisfaction to his thoughts, then the intended  
imployment, or any preferment which Cromwell and the  
present powers could putt upon him. His wishes and  
prayers were, that he might be excused therof (if God saw  
it good) and might continue in the private injoyment of  
the ordinances of God, and of the comfort of his wife and  
family.

The lord viscount L'Isle, more particularly concerned in 29.  
the buisnes of Sweden then others, and to gett himselfe  
wholly excused from it, about this time (as Whitelocke was  
afterwards informed) did putt Cromwell in mind, that the  
councell had ordered letters to be written by his excellency,  
and by Sir Gilbert Pickering, to Whitelocke, to signify to  
him the councell's vote in this buisnes; and that the letters  
were not yett written.

Wheruppon



1653. <sup>Aug. 29.</sup> Wheruppon Cromwell and Pickering conferred together about it: and Cromwell's secretary was appointed to draw up a letter to Whitelocke for that purpose, to be sent to him if he were in town; or into the countrey if he were there, as some informed he was. In the meane time Whitelocke neglected not to ride abroad, and take the fresh aier in the countrey; a pleasure much beyond the insinuating cringes of cappes and knees, and more valuable than the deare earned fees and salaries.

30. The proceedings att Whitehall were slowe in the Swedish buisnes, and Whitelocke had no cause to hasten them, butt to wish them yett slower; he was not grieved that there came hitherto noe further intelligence about them, nor any summons for his repayre to London, which he every day expected: butt whilest he had the liberty, tooke the pleasure of riding forth into the open fields, and inclosed grounds, contemplating on the goodnes of God, who had bestowed on Englishmen so pleasant, healthfull, and fruitfull a countrey as this island; and, the inconsideratenes of those who will leave such a countrey to please their fond humors of travayling to see forrein countreys, when they have a better att home; and the unhappines of those who are sent abroad uppon publique errands, and instead of recompence for their hazards and service, are more likely to incurre displeasure, and perhaps distruction.

31. According to directions, Cromwell's secretary brought to his master, and Sir Gilbert Pickering, the draught of a letter to be sent from them to Whitelocke; butt the frame of the letter did not please Cromwell, so that he cast it by, and said he would write a letter himselfe to be sent to Whitelocke.

All



All this time Whitelocke heard no further intelligence <sup>1653.</sup> from London about this Swedish journey, notwithstanding <sup>Aug. 31.</sup> that he had written againe to Mr. Earle to make a wary inquiry about it; which it seems was so wary, that he gained no more intelligence concerning this matter than what he had first sent unto his master: who had enough therby to exercise his thoughts, and to give a disturbance to the pleasing retirement which he before that injoyed, and which he had both before and since that time learned, by too sad experience, to be the best and safest condition for any man in his earthly pilgrimage and labours of this life; and that there is no rest, no abiding place, to be mett with heer below.

## SEPTEMBER.



## S E P T E M B E R.

1653.  
Septemb.  
1.

**T**HE buisnes of Sweden was still deferred: butt it being intimated to Whitelocke, that the counsell had ordered letters to be written to him about that buisnes, and to require his repayre to London; he and his friends tho't it now fitt for him to returne thither, and to indeavor if he could to prevent any further progresse in that affayre, as it related to himselfe.

He therefore appointed within a day or two to begin his journey; which being taken notice of, divers persons of quality of the neighbourhood came to take their leaves of him, expressing (as they had often done before) much civility and respect to him. Some of them, in discourse, seemed to have heard of his being designed to goe ambassador; butt Whitelocke held it not fitt, nor delighted to take any notice therof, nor to owne it.

2.

The lord viscount L'Isle againe reminded Cromwell of the letter to be sent to Whitelocke; and Cromwell theruppon, himselfe drew a letter, and shewed it to Pickering, who seldome disliked what was done by Cromwell: they both signed the letter; and it, being sealed, was delivered to a messenger with commaund to find out Whitelocke, and to deliver the letter to him; who was yett in the pleasant and healthful countrey aier, and injoyment of the recreations there, butt he must prepare for his journey to London the next day.

The



The messenger of the councell was at Whitelocke's house at Chelsey, to inquire for him, and to deliver the letter to him; butt the servants answered, that their master was not yett come to towne, butt that he was this night expected there. He came (though late) to his house at Chelsey, where his servants informed him of the messenger's having been there, and saying, that he would come again to-morrow. This was unwellcome newes to Whitelocke's wife and friends, who were troubled att it; butt himselfe, submitting all to the will of God, was least disquieted.

1653.

Sept. 3.

This comming of the messenger occasioned new discourfes about this buifnes, and renewed the fears and troubles of his nearest relations, frustrating all their hopes that the buifnes was layd aside.

The messenger of the councell kept his word; and this morning (although the Lord's day) before Whitelocke was out of his bed, brought the generall's letter to him; the copy whereof was this. 4.

*For the Right Honourable the Lord WHITELOCKE,  
One of the Commissioners of the Seale. These.*

MY LORD,

“ The councell of state, having thoughts of putting your  
“ lordship to the trouble of being extraordinary ambassador  
“ to the queen of Swizland, did think fitt not to impose  
“ that service uppon you, without first knowing your own  
“ freedome thereunto; wherefore they were pleased to com-  
“ maund our services in making this addresse to your lord-  
VOL. I. B “ ship,



1653. "ship, and hereby we can assure you of a very large con-  
 fidence in your honor and abilities for this employment.  
 Sept. 4. "To which we begging your answer, do rest,

"My lord,

"your humble servants,

SEPTEMBER 2,  
 1653.

"O. CROMWELL.

"GIL. PICKERING."

This letter was all written with Cromwell's own hand; and upon the communicating of it by Whitelocke to his friends with him, severall interpretations were made upon the words of the letter; as those, "not to impose the service," seemed to allow some liberty and hopes to gett off from it, more than afterwards he found.

Others noted the words of courtship, of "honor and abilities," to declare their expectation, that he should undertake what they judged him so fitt for; but Whitelocke thought most proper to know his meaning from himselfe, and for that end to waite on him the next day.

In the evening, collonel Sidney, brother to the lord viscount L'Isle, came to visit Whitelocke; and (as some supposed) sent by his brother to sift and try whether Whitelocke were like to undertake what he had left.

All the averfeness, that could be to it, was expressed by Whitelocke, who prayed the collonel ingeniously to declare the reason of his brother's declining this service; whether he scrupeld the authority of those that were to send him, or doubted



doubted the successe of the treaty, or avoided the daungers of the journey; or what it was, after his having undertaken the service, which occasioned him to decline it. 1653.  
Sept. 4.

The collonel answered, that if his brother had scrupeld the authority, he would not have bin of their councell and parliament; that he held the authority of the last parliament, when they designed him for this ambassy, and the present powers (as to legality) much alike; that he judged the treaty very probable to have good successe; that the daungers of the journey he confessed to be great, butt much greater to his brother than another, by reason of his want of health; that when he was appointed to goe, it was in summer, butt now the winter was coming on; and that he was of such a constitution, that he hardly could endure the cold of England, much lesse of Sweden: and he protested seriously, that he thought the employment honourable, not difficult; and that the only cause of his brother's desire to be now excused from it was his want of health, and no other reason.

After he was gone, came the lord commissioner L'Isle to Whitelocke, to bid him wellcome home; he most earnestly perswaded Whitelocke to undertake the service, as that which would be a very greathonor and advantage to him and his family, and to his profession, whereas his refusall of it would extreamly indaunger him and his fortune; that those in power would be highly offended att it, and all clamours of persons discontented att any thing that he had done would be lett loose uppon him, and favoured against him; and though he were free from the least corruption, yet in these times, it was not prudent to put a man's selfe uppon the daunger of complaints, and to judges not his friends; but his accepting the service would be honourable, safe, and mightily obliging



1653. obliging those in power, and prove the greatest good that  
 could be to him and his.  
 Sept. 4.

Some supposed that L'Isle had a further reach than he mentioned, in his perswasion of Whitelocke: he feared the present parliament would strike at the chancery to take it away, which had been moved among them; and he thought Whitelocke undertaking this service, might be a good means to prevent that prejudice to him; and that he might be the greater man in Whitelocke's absence.

Many other arguments and discourses they had about it, till the lateness of the evening parted them.

5. Early in the morning Whitelocke went to Pickering, who told him, that he was named nullo contradicente; that it was intended for his honor, would not be forced upon him, butt well taken, if accepted by him.

Whitelocke acquainted him with his objections, and his wife's present condition; of which Pickering seemed very sensible: they went together to the generall, who presently came to them, and they had this discourse.

*Wh.* My lord, I received your excellent letter butt yesterday, and am now come to waite upon you to return my humble thanks for the great honor done me, in being judged worthy of so high a trust; but I begge your excellency's consideration of my want of abilities, both of body and mind for this service, and the season of the year; besides, there are some things relating to my private family, wherewith I have acquainted Sir Gilbert Pickering, which are of no small concernment to me.

*Pick.*



*Pick.* That is, my lord, that his lady is neer her time of 1653.  
being brought to-bed.

Sept. 5.

*Wh.* My lord, I am very free to serve the common-wealth in any thing within my capacity; and hope they will not expect from me what will be so great prejudice to me and my family, as this imployment now would be.

*Cromwell.* I am very sorry that the letter came no sooner to you.

*Pick.* I confes, it was my fault.

*Crom.* Sir Gilbert Pickering would needs write a very fine letter; and when he had done, did not like it himselfe. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that letter to you. And the buisnes is of exceeding great importance to the common-wealth, as any can be; that it is: and there is no prince or state in Christendome, with whom there is any probability for us to have a friendship, butt only the queen of Sweden. She hath sent severall times to us, but we have returned no ambassy to her, only a letter by a young gentleman; she expects an ambassador from us, and if we should not send a man of eminency to her, she would thinke herselfe slighted by us: and she is a lady of great honor, and stands much uppon ceremonies.

*Wh.* The buisnes being of so great concernement (as indeed it is) there is the more need of a person qualified with abilities for so great a charge which I have not, as your excellency and all that know me will conclude; and I know best my own defects. I want experience in forein affayres, and matters of state; in language and ceremony, of which the queen is so great a judge, and a lady that will soon discern



1653. cerne my disabilities, and make advantage thereof; nor will  
 Sept. 5. she look upon me, as a person of eminency fitt to be sent  
 to her. So that (with submission to the judgment of your  
 excellency and the councell) I must conclude my selfe altogi-  
 ther unfitt for this very weighty and high imployment,  
 whereof divers other in the nation are fare more capable  
 then I am.

*Crom.* The councell have pitched uppon you unanimously,  
 as the fittest man in the nation for this service; we know  
 your abilities, having long conversed with you; we know  
 you have languages, and have travelled, and understand  
 the interest of Christendome; and I have known you in the  
 army, to indure hardships, and to be healthful and strong,  
 and of mettle, discretion, and parts most fitt for this im-  
 ployment: you are so indeed; really, no man is so fitt for it  
 as you are. We know you to be a gentleman of a good fa-  
 mily, related to persons of honor; and your present office  
 of commissioner of the seale will make you the more ac-  
 ceptable to her. I doe earnestly desire you to undertake it,  
 wherein you will doe an act of great merit, and advantage  
 to the common-wealth, as great as any one member of it can  
 performe; and which will be as well accepted by them: the  
 buisnes is very honourable, and exceeding likely to have  
 good successe. Her publique ministers heer have already  
 agreed uppon most of the materiall and maine points of the  
 buisnes; if it had not bin such an imployment, we would not  
 have putt you uppon it: the buisnes of trade, and of the  
 funds, and touching the Dutch, are such as there cannot  
 be any of greater consequence.

*Wh.* Your excellency will pardon me if I cannot subscribe  
 to your favourable opinion of me; and I should be sorry,  
 that a buisnes of so great concernement should suffer under  
 so



so weake a management as by my hand : besides, that which 1653.  
 Sir Gilbert Pickering is pleased to tell you of my wife's con-  
 dition, is, to my private comfort, of as high consequence as <sup>Sept. 5.</sup>  
 may be. I would not seem unkind or ungratefull to such a  
 wife ; and this time of the year, it is hard for me to be putt  
 uppon so difficult and daungerous a journey.

*Crom.* I know my lady is a good woman, and a religious  
 woman, and will be contented to suffer a little absence of  
 her husband for the publique good ; and for the time of the  
 year, really the life of the buisnes consists in the dispatch  
 of it att this time ; the Dutch are tampering with the queen,  
 butt she holds them off, expecting to hear from us.

*Wh.* I see your excellency is stayd for. I shall have some  
 occasions into the country ; and about a fortnight hence I  
 will waite on you agayne ; and in the meane time, you will  
 give me leave to consider of this buisnes.

*Crom.* I pray, my lord Whitelocke, do not thinke of so  
 long a time ; butt lett me intreate you to accept of the im-  
 ployment, and to return your answer within a few dayes  
 to me.

*Wh.* I shall attend your excellency.

After this and much more discourse to the same effect  
 Whitelocke returned, and related the same to his wife and  
 friends, among whom he found differing judgments ; his  
 wife full of tears and objections against it, his eldest son for  
 it, youth making flight of daungers, and himselfe hoping  
 to goe with his father.

His



1653. His eldest daughter, now growne a woman, and of good  
 parts, was much against it, fearing to be deprived of a  
 loving father, as she was of her deare mother; and she ex-  
 pressed much love and tendernes to him, and to her mother,  
 sisters, and brethren.

Other friends were for his going, chiefly to create and  
 keep a considerable interest in the generall, who did what  
 he pleased, and in the army and present powers; which  
 might be a shield and advantage to him, and his family: and  
 some of them most insisted upon the promoting of the  
 Protestant interest in those parts, whither he was to goe.

6. Little else but the buisnes of Sweden was the discourse in  
 Whitelocke's house; his wife was full of it, took all occa-  
 sions to declare her mind, and give her faithfull advice to  
 her husband in it: some of their discourse containing the  
 grounds of debate, not only with her, butt with others,  
 (and this worke being intended for his own family) is there-  
 fore inserted, and may seem the lesse triviall.

*Wife.* I perceive the generall is most earnestly set upon  
 it, to send you this journey; butt I beg of you not to yield  
 to him: for all his power, doe not prejudice your selfe and  
 family.

*Wh.* His power is great, and hard to be opposed; butt I  
 shall not sticke to doe it, to preserve you and my children,  
 as well as my selfe. I desire you to moderate your passions  
 and tears, least you bring sicknes upon your selfe, which  
 will be worse than this journey to me.

*Wife.*



*Wife.* How can I forbear tears at the feare and thought of parting with you, and daunger never to see you againe? 1653.  
Sept. 6.

*Wh.* I see no such daunger in it.

*Wife.* You see others refuse it; and then they pitch upon you to undertake it: and if it were so full of honor and advantage, why should others then decline it?

*Wh.* I have the Generall's word, that it is so intended to me.

*Wife.* So you had his letter that they would impose nothing on you; and yett you see how earnestly they presse this upon you: he means no good to you, butt would be rid of you.

*Wh.* Why should he desire to be rid of me, when I may be serviceable to him heer?

*Wife.* Though you are serviceable in some things, yet you are not through paced for them in all things which they would have you to doe; you refused to act in the great buisnes; you opposed the breaking of the parlement, and other unjust things.

*Wh.* Had I not done so, you and I had not mett together.

*Wife.* It was the first thing I inquired of you; my first husband nor you were ingaged; if you had, I should not have bin ingaged to you. I believe you lost by it much of the generall's favour; and he would take this occasion to



1653. lay you aside, that you might be no hinderance to his further  
 Sept. 6. designes.

*Wh.* What further designes can he have? He exercises more power than any king of England ever had, or claymed.

*Wife.* His ambition is higher than we can imagine: and you have often declared yourselfe for the law and rights of the people; which, if they stand in his way, he will lay them, or you, or any thing aside.

*Wh.* I believe he would doe so.

*Wife.* He takes you to be such a person, and therefore would now send you out of the way.

*Wh.* If I be so ill thought of, it will be better for me to be out of the way, than to be heere, to crosse and provoke them yett more.

*Wife.* Butt to be out of the way to hazard your life, will be sad for me: better to retire and live privately in the country.

*Wh.* Nothing would be more pleasing to me in this world.

*Wife.* Consider that two who were sent abroad have bin murdered; and is there not cause to feare the like may be attempted on you: it makes my heart to tremble; if you love me and your children, doe not expose yourselfe to these apparent daungers.

*Wh.* It



*Wh.* It is true that two of your publique ministers have bin killed ; but they had too little care of themselves : and 'tis possible, the like affacination may be attempted on me, butt I shall be better provided for my defence, and be the more watchfull by their warning ; and the same God that is with us heer, and hath kept me in many daungers, will, I hope, be with me every where, and give me his protection.

1653.

Sept. 6.

*Wife.* I have four times crost the sea, and 'tis a dreadful thing.

*Wh.* To women it is, more than to men.

*Wife.* I went only between England and Holland: butt your voyage will be long and dangerous, and in winter ; and I have heard that those seas are very rough, and the weather like to be bad.

*Wh.* I have bin often att sea, and with a good wind ; this voyage may be in five or six days : I can brooke the seas as well as most men, and have bin used to stormes, both att sea and land.

*Wife.* You have the more reason now to desire rest.

*Wh.* There is no rest butt in the grave.

*Wife.* There will be more att home than in this journey ; you will not be able to indure the cold and extremities of it.

*Wh.* I have indured many hardships ; and if God shall call me to this, he will inable me to beare it.



1653. *Wife.* But why should you adventure yourselfe for those  
 that doe not wish you well? butt rather, that you may never  
 Sept. 6. returne, as I thinke the generall and his party doe.

*Wh.* I see you are no great friend of theirs.

*Wife.* Nor are they your friends.

*Wh.* I believe the generall is not so fond of me as of Sir  
 Gilbert Pickering.

*Wife.* Nor would he shed many tears if you miscarry in  
 the journey.

*Wh.* Not so many as you have shed for feare I should goe;  
 yett he can shed tears sometimes.

*Wife.* O lett my teares and desires prevayle with you not  
 to putt yourselfe and me upon those perills, to serve them  
 that love you not.

*Wh.* The greater the perills are, the greater will be the  
 goodnes of God in my protection, and the greater will be  
 the merit of the service; the work of God and one's country  
 knoweth no daungers, at least feareth none: and though the  
 seas, and season, and climate are very great discouragements;  
 yett a willing mind to doe service to God, and one's  
 country, and profession, and family, and friends, will helpe  
 to surpasse them all.

*Wife.* I see then you are inclined to undertake it: if I  
 saw any likelyhood of your doing service to God and his  
 people in this journey, I should be the lesse troubled; butt  
 I see nothing of that in it.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Unlesse that be made appear in it, I shall not incline 1653.  
to it; and what I say, is only for argument and discourse Sept. 6.  
fake, and to debate it with thee, who art so much concerned  
in it.

*Wife.* I thinke it necessary to consider and weigh all objections, and whether the acceptance or refusall of it be best; wherein, next yourselfe, none is so much concerned as I am, and I cannot bring my heart to incline to it.

*Wh.* If the generall or any of my ennemies have designed this for my prejudice, possibly I shall gratify their ill will, and incurre what they designe, by my refusall; butt if I should undertake it, and God should blesse me in it, that would weaken and disappoint the envy of my adversaries: a refusall at this time; added to their former distasts of me, would increase the interest of my enemies, and diminish my own; but by accepting it, I shall oblige those in power, and greatly advantage myselfe and relations.

*Wife.* Our greatest advantage will be to enjoy you, whose life is our chiefest worldly comfort, and your death (which more probably is to be expected in this journey) will be an irreparable losse to me, and our twelve children, and a thirteenth comming; most of them unable to help themselves; and your friends and relations will have no small losse in you.

*Wh.* Whatever becomes of me, I have confidence in your love to my children, and care of them for my sake: I know religion and affection will guide you to it, and to deny yourselfe for the good of yours, and for the highest interest; and if I should goe, I hope our seperation (through the goodnes of God) would be butt temporary, and not long, and our meeting againe, with the more joy and comfort.

*Wife.*



1653. *Wife.* Butt you see my present condition.

Sept. 6.

*Wh.* I see it, and rejoyce in the addition of God's mercyes to us; and hope, if I doe goe, yett I shall see you first safely delivered.

*Wife.* No, you must goe presently.

Heer againe abundance of teares interrupted their discourse, and was no weake argument against the journey.

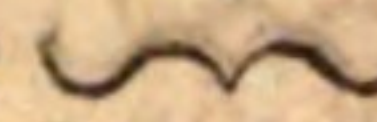
7.

Some of Whitelocke's friends, whose advise he asked in this buisnes, were more reserved then usuall; and not so free to give their positive advice in it, for feare of inconveniency which might either way insue. Others of his friends declared their judgements and reasons freely to him, for his undertaking of it, as others did against it.

Some whose affections were not with the parlement, yett advised him to undertake this imployment, to preserve his interest in the present powers, and to be the better able to doe them and himselfe good. Others, who were for the parlement, yett were against his going, that they might have him heer, and for his avoyding the daungers of the voyage. Those against his going objected, the daungers of the rough northerne seas, of the ennemies Dutch and Danes, of the defeat to our navy, which would frustrate the Swedish buisnes, and leave him and his company miserable abroad, as every disaster to our new common-wealth would doe; also the extreame coldnes of that countrey in the winter, the great change of climate and dyett, want of accomodations and hardships, to one not used to them in his youth, and now in his crazy old age to be putt to more than ordinary extreamities.

To



To these it was answered, that the voyage by sea is not 1653.  
 so dangerous as was apprehended; and though they be rough seas, yett he would be in good ships, and might   
 take his owne time, and seldome would be farre from some port to friend him. That the Dutch would be most in  
 harbour in the winter; and if any of their men of war should be abroad, they would not rashly sett uppon our  
 frigotts, such as would be sent with Whitelocke, and which they knew would fight; nor was it usuall to assault an  
 Ambassador: and as for the Danish ships, they were not  
 considerable.

Sept. 7.

Every day Whitelocke advised with his friends about this  
 great buisnes, heard and weighed their objections and  
 answers, some whereof were these:

8..

The daunger of the land journey, and of assacination;  
 his want of experience in state affayres, and in trade; a  
 subtile people to deale with, whose interest was their profit,  
 and agreements not kept on other grounds; the inconve-  
 niencies which might befall him in his absence, and his not  
 being then minded and supplied.

To which was answered, that the countrey was indeed  
 extreame cold, butt against that he must provide warme  
 clothing; that he would there find warme houses, and  
 abundance of fuell; that though the journey was very long,  
 yett the wayes were exceeding good, and order would be  
 given for the repayre of them, and for all accomodations  
 for his journey: that strict care would be taken to prevent  
 force uppon him or assacination, and the people there were  
 in perfect obedience, and none would dare to commit such  
 a fact, either of the natives or strangers; and he would  
 have



1653. have a better guard then those had who were murdered in  
 ~~~~~  
 Sept. 8. Spayn, and Holland.

That there was not much trade betwixt us and Sweden ; nor was much of skill in those matters expected in an extraordinary ambaffador, who agreed fuch things in the generall ; and afterwards particular points were brought to a determination by merchants or others appointed to be commissioners for that purpose.

That Whitelocke was not unexperienced in forrein affayres, and matters of ftate, wherein he had bin constantly imployed heer by the parlement and councells ; that the Swedes were very juft in performing their agreements, and regarded their advantage not more then all other princes and ftates doe ; and as they were a wife and fubtile people, fo they would find those no children with whom they were to deale ; and that the Swedes were butt men.

That no inconvenience could befall him by reason of his abfence, butt the fame, if not more, would lye uppon him if prefent ; except the fayler of fupplies, for which a full provision might be made beforehand : and that his journey would be an honorable difmiffion from any fuch inconveniences, if they fhould happen, and from the clamours which ufually follow those imployments in which he had bin ingaged.

9. It was requifite for Whitelocke to goe into the countrey about his affayres there ; fome difcourfe a little retarded him.

It was objected, that the authority under whose commiffion he was to act in this great buifnes, was not juftifyable
 by

by the law of God, or of this nation ; and he the more lyable to punishment, if a change should come.

1653.

Sept. 9.

To this was answered, by some ministers and other friends : that to matter of conscience, the buisnes about which he went was for the good of the nation, and of the protestant interest and religion ; and heer being no other present visible power butt those who sent him, he might with good conscience submit to them, according to that of the Apostle, 1 Pet. ii. 13. " Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man ;" and Rom. xiii. 1. " Lett every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power butt of God, the powers that be are ordained of God ;" that Christ yielded obedience to Cæsar, though an usurper, and Paul did the like.

As to the matter of law, it was said by those of his own profession (of whom none dissuaded him from this journey) and by other friends, that matters judicall, civill, or criminall, raysing of money, or forces, fighting, killing, &c. are of a nature much different from an ambassy, and have more consideration as to legality or illegality of the powers ordering them ; butt the carrying of a message, and being an ambassador, may be undertaken on the behalfe of any that will send it, and can defray the charge of it, so as the matter of it be not bad ; and though the authority itself be not so gratefull to the people, yett they submit to it, and universally obey it, and none can have protection butt under it.

That the buisnes was in itselſe good and gratefull to the people, being to make a league of amity with a neighbour nation, to increase our trade, to strengthen ourselves against a forein ennemy, the Dutch, or to produce

1653. a peace with them ; which things would be gratefull and
 ~~~~~ advantageous to all sorts of people, and opinions in the  
 Sept. 9. nation, both now and in any future change.

As to matter of prudence, he was said to be so farre  
 ingaged already with the parlement party, that he could  
 not go back ; that if any change should be made with  
 force, it would be safer to be from among them than in  
 the midst of them ; if it were made uppon termes, he  
 (though absent) should be comprised in them.

Some of those who dissuaded him, yett when he would  
 goe, they freely adventured their lives with him. He got  
 this day to his house in Bucks.

10. Early in the morning he went abroad to take the fresh  
 aier, and looke into his grounds : with him was his tenant  
 William Cooke, an antient, sober, discreet, and faithfull  
 servant to Whitelocke and his father above forty years ;  
 part of the discourse between them was to this effect.

Co. Sir I am glad to see you heer before you goe your  
 great journey.

Wh. I desired to see you once againe before I be sent  
 beyond sea.

Co. If you be sent over sea, I pray God blesse you, and  
 send you well home againe.

Wh. There will be some daunger of comming well home  
 againe.

Co.



*Co.* Why, fir, many honest gentlemen before now have  
bin sent over seas, and yett have returned well home againe;  
and so I hope will you. 1653.  
Sept. 10.

*Wh.* But this is a journey of more daunger then ordinary.

*Co.* Sir, you have bin in great daungers ere now, and God has kept you; and so I hope he will still.

*Wh.* I perceive you are not so much against my going as others are.

*Co.* I see no cause to be much against it, that's the trueth on't; bicause I hope it may be for the good of you and yours, which I wish with all my heart, and ever did.

*Wh.* Butt doe not you thinke it would be more for our good for me to stay at home?

*Co.* That you know best; butt this I thinke, that if by going abroad you may gaine a good advantage to your state, and by staying att home you will only spend of it, then it will be more for your good to goe abroad, than to stay att home. Butt these things are above me.

*Wh.* You speake reason, William.

*Co.* I have no ends in what I speake butt my love to you and yours; and I am sure I shall gaine nothing by your going, nor lose nothing by your stay.

*Wh.* Butt my wife much feares the daunger.



1653. *Co.* Our lady and mistress will be satisfied in what you  
 think best, and knowes that God is the same God every  
 Sept. 10. where: I pray God keep you out of dangers if you goe,  
 or if you stay; there will be dangers every where.

*Wh.* But more apparent in this journey.

*Co.* I cannot tell that; for I have heard that our great  
 man, I mean my lord generall, would have you to goe:  
 and if it be so, and yett you will stay att home, I doubt  
 there may be as much danger for you to stay as to goe.

*Wh.* Its true the generall would have me goe; butt I am  
 not bound to obey him in all things.

*Co.* I am deceived if he will not be obeyed in what he  
 hath a mind to.

*Wh.* I am not under his command; what can he doe  
 to me?

*Co.* What can he doe! what can he not doe? Don't we  
 all see he does what he list. We poor countrymen are forced  
 to obey him to our cost; and if he have a mind to punish  
 us or you, its an old proverbe, that it is an easy thing to  
 find a staffe to beate a dogge: and I would not have you  
 to anger him, lest you bring danger and trouble too  
 uppon you and your family and state; that's the trueth on't.

*Wh.* I fully agree with you in this; and I hope you will  
 agree to me to be carefull of my buisnes in case I shall goe,  
 and to obey my wife's commands in my absence.

*Co.*



Co. I shall, by the help of God, be faithfull to you ; and  
carefully observe the commands of my lady and mistress.

1653.  
Sept. 10.

*The Lord's day.* After publique dueties Whitelocke had  
much discourse about his voyage to Sweden ; and more  
particularly upon the point, whether, by his undertaking  
of it, he might be instrumentall to promote the protestant  
interest, and to doe service to good people both heer and  
abroade ; against which these objections were made.

That the people of those parts whither he was to goe  
differ wholly from our perswasion in matters of religion ;  
and though they are protestants after the doctrine of Luther,  
yett they are not easily to be reconciled to those of other  
tenents, nor to be brought to joyne with them ; and they  
have a sharpe averfenes to the opinions of Calvin, and looke  
upon us as most favouring them, and more than those of  
their great author Luther.

On the other part it was said, that though the swedish  
and german professors are generally lutherans ; yett they  
are protestants, and agree with us in fundamentalls, and  
against the roman church.

That the queen of Sweden, butt chiefly her father, and  
many of his great men, yett living, have testified much  
affection to the protestant cause, and are forward to pro-  
mote it ; that such a person as Whitelocke being with them  
upon the place, and discoursing with them about these  
matters, (wherin he is able to give them so much satisfac-  
tion, and such as they have not had any opportunity so  
fully to receive before) and the example of Whitelocke and  
his company to worke upon them to a greater liking of  
our wayes and profession, accompanied with such practice,  
would



1653. would gaine a better acceptation with them, than any they  
 ~~~~~ have formerly given to those from whom att present they  
 Sept. 11. doe differ; and will much perswade towards a firm amity
 and union with this common-wealth.

That there is no other nation in Chriften dome from whom the Swedes can rationally expect fuch a friendship and union butt only England; especially in matter of religion, and for strength against the popish party, who love not them nor us.

The protestant princes of Germany are not att this day so considerable, nor so free of differences and jealousies among themselves and against the crown of Sweden, nor so secure of neerer enemies as to be much assistant to the Swedes, who will hardly be reconciled and united to the Danes, to joyne with them against the papists: the french protestants are overpowred att home, the Switzers are too farre off, the Netherlanders too much in league with the Dane, and in love with trade; so that the English only are the people with whom the Swedes may hope for a firm amity and union for the protestant interest, against the common enemy therof, the popish party; and, uppon this ground, that Whitelocke might receive encouragement to undertake this ambassy, and being so hopefull to promote the protestant interest, that God will give a blessing to it.

12. The pleasant healthfull countrey aier must be left, and Whitelocke must hasten to attend the general; and for that end he returnes to London, where discourse againe ariseth touching his swedish journey, between him and his wife and friends, and the same reasons, objections, and answers as formerly were reiterated. Att length she came to this
 conclusion

conclusion and result with herselfe, which she declared to her husband, as her advice and judgement; that she was not able to give her consent to his undertaking of the journey, because of that heavy affliction which would lye upon her by it; neither durst she absolutely to deny it, least any inconvenience might befall him or his family by his refusall of it, or any hindrance to their good: butt that she thought he must be guided in his resolutions as he should find the generall's, in his next conference with him. And so she left it to her husband (wherin their friends concurred) and she, with many teares, desired him to consider his own safety in the first place, and to doe what would tend most therunto, and to the honor of God, and the interest of his family and countrey.

1653.

Sept. 12.

Her advice was without any by-ends; her concernement and good the same with his, the same interest to both; her advice (though a woman) not to be rejected, butt sound, faithfull, and affectionate.

Early in the morning Whitelocke had access to the generall, and this discourse with him.

13.

Wh. I was to attend your excellence, butt mist of you.

Crom. I knew not of it; you are alwayes wellcome to me. I hope you have considered the proposall I made to you, and are willing to serve the common-wealth.

Wh. I have fully considered it; and with humble thanks acknowledge the honor intended me, and am most willing to serve your excellence and the common-wealth; butt in this particular I humbly begge your excuse. I have indeavoured to satisfy my owne judgement, and my neere relations,

1653. lations, butt can doe neither ; nor gaine a consent, and I
 ~~~~~ should be very unworthy and ungratefull to goe against it.  
 Sept. 13.

*Crom.* You know that no relations use to sway the balance in such matters as this. I know your lady very well, and that she is a good woman, and a religious woman ; indeed I think she is : and I durst undertake, in a matter of this nature, wherein the interest of God and of his people is concerned, as they are in your undertaking of this buisnes, I dare say my lady will not oppose it.

*Wh.* Truly, sir, I thinke there is no woman alive desires more the promoting of that interest ; butt she hopes it may be done as much, if not more, by some other person.

*Crom.* Really I know not in England so fitt a person as you are for it.

*Wh.* Your excellence cannot butt know my want of breeding and experience in matters of this nature, and of language.

*Crom.* I know your education, travayle, and language, and experience have fitted you for it ; you know the affayres of Christendome as well as most men, and of England, as well as any man, and can give as good an account of them. I think no man can serve his countrey more then you may herein ; indeed I think so, and therefore I make it my particular suit, and earnest request to you to undertake it : and I hope you will shew a little regard to me in it ; and I assure you that you shall have no cause to repent it.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* My lord, I am very ready to testify my duety to <sup>1653.</sup>  
your excellency. I acknowledge your many favours to me, <sup>Sept. 13.</sup>  
and myfelfe an officer under your command, and to owe  
you obedience. Butt your excellency will not expect it  
from me in that wherin I am not capable to ferve you :  
and, therefore, I make it my most humble fuit to be excused  
from this service.

*Crom.* For your abilities I am fatisfyed ; I know no man  
fo fitt for it as yourfelfe ; and if you should decline it (as I  
hope you will not) the common-wealth would suffer ex-  
tremely by it, your own profession perhaps might suffer  
likewise, and the protestant interest would suffer by it :  
indeed you cannot be excused, the hearts of all the good  
people in this nation are sett uppon it, to have you under-  
take this service, and if you should waive it, being thus,  
and att fuch a time when your going may be the most  
likely means to settle our buifnes with the Dutch and Danes,  
and matter of trade, (and none, I say again, can doe it  
better then you) ; the common-wealth would be att an ex-  
treame prejudice by your refusall. Butt I hope you will  
hearken to my request, and lett me prevayle with you to  
undertake it : neither you nor yours, I hope, shall ever  
have any cause to wish you had not done it.

*Wh.* My lord, when a man is out of fight he is out of  
mind. Though your excellency be just and honorable ; yett  
your greater affayres calling you off, those to whom mat-  
ters of correspondence and supplyes must be referred, will  
perhaps forget one who is as farre of, and not be so sensible  
of extremitities in a forein countrey as those who suffer un-  
der them,



1653. *Crom.* I will ingage to take particular care of those mat-  
 ters myfelfe, and that you fhall neither want fupplies nor  
 Sept. 13. any thing that is fitt for you: you fhall be fett out with  
 as much honor as ever any ambaffador was from England.  
 I fhall hold myfelfe particularly obliged to you if you will  
 undertake it; and will ftick as close to you as your fkin is  
 to your flefh. You fhall want nothing either for your  
 honor and equipage, or for power and trust to be reposed  
 in you, or for correſpondence and fupplies when you are  
 abroad; I promiſe you, my lord, you fhall not. I will  
 make it my buſines to ſee it done. The parlement and  
 counsell, as well as myfelfe, will take it very well, and  
 thankfully from you to accept of this employment; and all  
 people, eſpecially the good people of the nation, will be  
 much ſatisfyed with it: and, therefore, my lord, I make it  
 againe my earneſt request to you to accept this honorable  
 employment.

This extraordinary earneſtnes of Cromwell, ſo that he  
 would not be ſatisfyed unles Whitelocke did accept the im-  
 ployment, nor by any means be prevayled with to excuſe  
 him; and Whitelocke ſeeing plainly that he could not  
 decline it, without making Cromwell, the parlement, and  
 counsell highly diſtaſted againſt him, and to be his covert,  
 if not open ennemies, for neglecting and ſlighting them,  
 who had opportunity, and power, and will, to be even  
 with him.

He came to this reſolution, (which, uppon prayer to God  
 and advice of his friends, he had formerly taken) that if he  
 ſhould find it with Cromwell as he did, then to conſent  
 rather to goe the journey in great daunger, then to ſtay  
 att home in greater; and to hope to doe ſome ſervice for  
 the



the protestant people and interest. Therefore, after some  
 pawse, Whitelocke spake againe to Cromwell thus:

1653.  
 Sept. 13.

*Wh.* I see your excellence is inexorable for my excuse ;  
 and much sett uppon it, with more then ordinary earnest-  
 ness, for me to undertake this service, for which, (though  
 I judge myselfe insufficient) yett your judgement and the  
 councill's is, that I am capable to doe some service to the  
 common-wealth, and to the protestant interest herin, and  
 to the honor of God, which is above all other motives: and  
 hoping that it may be so ; and to testify my regard and  
 duety to your excellence, who have honored me with your  
 personall request for it, and the councill having unani-  
 mously pitched uppon me ; and to manifest that I am not  
 selfe-willed, and how much I value your excellence's com-  
 mands, and can submitt my own to better judgements, I  
 am resolved to lay aside further consideration of wife, chil-  
 dren, friends, fortune, and all objections and feare of  
 daungers, and to conforme myselfe to your excellence's  
 desires, and to the votes of the councill, by accepting this  
 difficult and hazardous imployment ; and doe rest confident  
 of your excellence's care and favour towards me, who un-  
 dertake it by your command : and hope that such allow-  
 ances and supplyes will be afforded me, and such memory  
 had of me in my absence, as shall be agreeable to the  
 honor of the nation, and of yourselfe, and the buisnes, as  
 also of your servant.

*Crom.* My lord, I doe most heartily thanke you for  
 accepting the imployment, wherby you have testified a  
 very great respect and favour to me, and affection to the  
 common-wealth, which will be very well taken by them ;  
 and I assure you, that it is so gratefull to me, who, uppon  
 my particular request have prevayled with you, that I shall



1653. never forgett this favour, butt endeavor to requite it to  
 you and yours ; really, my lord, I shall: and I will acquaint  
 Sept. 13. the councill with it, that we may desire further conference  
 with you.

He went away well pleased; and Whitelocke's friends  
 thought what he had done to be rationall; butt tender  
 affection was full of passion and weeping.

14. The consent of Whitelocke to accept this imployment  
 was reported from the councill to the parlement, with the  
 councill's opinion, that Whitelocke was a fitt person to be  
 sent ambassador extraordinary to the queen of Sweden ;  
 which they submitted to the parlement's consideration.

In the debate therof in the house, one of the members,  
 (who had an opinion of himselfe to be more godly then  
 others) did object, that they knew not whether Whitelocke  
 were a godly man or not ; and though he might be other-  
 wayes qualifed, yett, if he were not a godly man, it was  
 not fitt to send him ambassador.

Mr. Taylor, another member, who was known not to  
 be inferior in godlines to the objector, answered (with  
 other friends) in Whitelocke's behalfe: that godliness was  
 now in fashion, and taken up in forme and words for ad-  
 vantage-sake, more then in substance for the trueths sake ;  
 that it was difficulte to judge of the trees of godliness, or  
 ungodliness, otherwise then by the fruit ; and that those  
 who knew Whitelocke, and his conversation, were satisfed  
 that he lived in practice, as well as in a profession of godli-  
 ness ; and that it was more becomming a godly man to  
 looke into his own heart, and to censure himselfe, than to  
 take uppon him the attribute of God alone, to know the  
 heart



heart of another, and to judge him, especially if a <sup>1653.</sup>  
 stranger, of whom godly men were wont to judge cha-  
 ritably. Sept. 14.

After some little debate, it was voted, nemine contradi-  
 cente, "that the house doth agree with the report, that the  
 lord commissioner Whitelocke be sent ambassador extraor-  
 dinary to the queen of Sweden, from this common-wealth;  
 and that the councell take care for the retinue of all am-  
 bassadors to be approved by them; and that they prepare  
 all things in order to the dispatch of the said lord ambaf-  
 sador, and a commission and instructions for him to be re-  
 ported to the house."

In the afternoon the councell made a committee, to con-  
 sider of preparations for the ambassy, and what money and  
 shipping is requisite for it; and to conferre with White-  
 locke about these things; and it was referred to the com-  
 mittee for forrein affayres to prepare a commission and in-  
 structions for him.

The committee of the councell for the ambassy were not 15.  
 full. Whitelocke inquiring about the vote of the house,  
 touching the retinue of ambassadors, (which he had noe  
 cause to like) was informed, that the occasion therof was  
 from disorders in the young gentleman, and his company,  
 who lately carryed letters from the parlement to the queen  
 of Sweden; and that there was much excesse in drinking  
 of healths in his company, which occasioned this vote of  
 the parlement about the retinue of all ambassadors; and  
 that it was generall, and no reflection therby, or in the  
 debate uppon Whitelocke in particular.

The



1653. The committee of the councill mett in the afternoon,  
 and tooke an account of the lord viscount L'Isle, that he had  
 received 3000 l. towards his charges for the ambassy, where-  
 of he had layd out 2000 l. in preparations, and there re-  
 mained 1000 l. in his hands. The committee did no-  
 thing further, though the buisnes and season of the yeare  
 required somewhat more expedition.

17. The committee for the Swedish buisnes mett agayne,  
 and ordered letters to be sent to Whitelocke, to meet them.

Whitelocke's usage was to be loving and kind to his ser-  
 vants, not awfully magisteriall and harsh to them; to treat  
 them with a fitting familiarity, rather than too great a distance,  
 and to take care that they should want nothing fitt for them.  
 This caused his servants to returne love agayne to their mas-  
 ter; and the service of love is the best service: to testify this  
 love, most of his meniall servants offered willingly; and  
 some of them made suite to waite on him in this journey,  
 though so long and daungerous.

18. *The Lord's day.* Whitelocke, after publique dueties, was  
 troubled with importunities of divers persons; some for gen-  
 tlemen to be admitted into his company, others to be his  
 servants in this journey: butt he was not forward to receive  
 any into his number, unlesse he knew them personally him-  
 selfe, or was well informed of the qualities, civility, and  
 religious inclination of them; least he might bring a preju-  
 dice by ill example uppon his children, or his other servants,  
 and a scandall uppon the profession of religion.

A messenger of the councill brought to Whitelocke this  
 letter from the committee.

To



*To the Right Honorable the Lord Commissioner WHITELOCKE, 1653.*  
*att his House att Chelsey.*

Sept. 19.

“ MY LORD,

“ The councell having commanded myselfe, with Sir  
 “ Gilbert Pickering and Mr. Strickland, to waite upon your  
 “ lordship, to conferre with your lordship about some things  
 “ concerning your lordship’s ambassy ; we desire to know,  
 “ whither your lordship will be att leisure to-morrow at  
 “ eight a’clocke, which, if your lordship approve of, we shall  
 “ be att the time aforesaid att your lordship’s house : or if  
 “ that be not convenient, that your lordship will lett us  
 “ know what other time will most suit with your lordship’s oc-  
 “ casions, that we may waite on you. I am,

“ My lord,

“ your lordship’s humble servant,

WHITEHALL,

Sept. 19.

“ HEN. LAWRENCE.”

To this letter Whitelocke returned this answer.

*To the Honorable HENRY LAWRENCE, Esqr. a Member of*  
*Parlement, and of the Councell of State. These.*

“ S I R,

“ I acknowledge, with humble thanks, the favour from  
 “ yourselfe and the rest of the honorable gentlemen of the  
 “ committee, by your letters this day brought unto me.  
 “ Sir, I shall be at leisure to attend when you commaund ;  
 “ and knowing your great occasions, and my own duty,  
 “ I de-



1653. " I desire you would be pleased to give me leave to waite  
 Sept. 19. " uppon you to-morrow morning att your time, at White-  
 " hall ; when I shall attend the pleasure of the committee,  
 " and hope to find you neer to the councell chamber.

" Your most humble servant,

CHELSEY,

Sept. 19, 1653.

" B. WHITELOCKE."

This letter rayfed new passions ; and it was urged against Whitelocke, that he ought not to leave his country and relations to goe this journey ; butt the matter was determined, and himselfe ingaged and freely called to this service.

20. Att eight a'clock this morning, Whitelocke was att the committee ; but it was too early for the members : only the lord viscount L'Isle came before the rest ; and with him Whitelocke had free discourse, touching the grounds of his declining that service, to which he protested solemnly and earnestly, that he had no other reason butt his want of health to undergoe a winter journey into that countrey, the cold whereof he was not by his constitution able to indure ; and this was the cause of his desire to be excused from that imployment att this time ; that he did not scruple the authority, nor thought the buisnes difficult, but very honourable, and likely to have good successe ; and he expressed the same things touching this matter, which his brother collonel Sidney had said before to Whitelocke.

The committee being full, Whitelocke sat with them covered ; and they discoursed together about an hower, touching his ambassy, particularly of the allowance for his charges, which they said should be 1000 l. a month, besides  
 coaches



coaches and liveries already provided ; and this the same allowance that the lord L'Isle should have had.

1653.  
Sept. 21.

Whitelocke showed the difference of charge in travyle and residence in winter, more than if he had gone in summer ; with his reasons why this allowance would be too smalle, and these matters he had fully inquired into and considered (as behoved him) uppon this occasion ; butt the gentlemen of the committee, not so much concerned heerin as Whitelocke, had not much looked into this, or any other buisnes of this nature, nor did say much to it ; but how they might save some of their money, although never so necessary to be expended : they concluded, with a desire, that Whitelocke would putt down his demands in writing, with which they would acquaint the councell, and returne their answer.

The letter of Whitelocke to the councell containing his propofalls, was delivered to the president, and was as followeth :

*To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Councell of State. These.*

“ MY LORD,

“ Upon consideration and advice concerning the journey  
“ into Sweden, respect being had unto the manner of the  
“ late ambassy into the Low Countryes, and of the present ex-  
“ pectation of the queen of Sweden, and her court, of the  
“ accesse of cavaliers thither, and chiefly of the honor of  
“ this state : I do humbly apprehend, that it will be requi-  
“ site, for the honor of the parlement, and security of their  
“ servant, that I carry with me neer 100 persons in my  
“ company and retinue.

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“ The



1653.

Sept. 21.

“ The expences of the journey will be much increased by  
 “ the season of the year, which will cause us to travayle by  
 “ land, almost 400 miles more than if we had gone in sum-  
 “ mer, and consequently to provide and carry with us  
 “ more people and horses.

“ The expences of the land journey will be very great,  
 “ and all provisions, both for men and horses, in the way  
 “ and att Stockholme, att a farre dearer rate in the winter  
 “ time, when they have no marketts, than they would have  
 “ bin in the summer, when they might have bin had, att  
 “ the best rates; besides the charge of the fuell, which will  
 “ not be smalle in that country.

“ I may have (if you please) the coaches and liveryes pro-  
 “ vided; besides which, I must provide clothes for myselfe,  
 “ advance monies and salaries for many that are to goe with  
 “ me, and many necessary provisions for my table, coach-  
 “ horses, faddle-horses, with divers other particulars, which  
 “ I trouble not your lordship to recite.

“ Uppon consideration of all these things, I doe humbly  
 “ apprehend, that it may appear reasonable, to allow me  
 “ 1500 l. per menssem, for all my preparations and expen-  
 “ ces: if this should be thought too high an allowance, I  
 “ then humbly propound 1000 l. advance for my prepara-  
 “ tions, beside coach and liveryes, and 1200 l. per menssem  
 “ for all my charges; being resolved, according to the plea-  
 “ sure of the councell, to conforme myselfe and my ex-  
 “ pences; and shall be ready to give a full account thereof  
 “ att my returne, if the councell shall thinke fitt to order it.

“ I do



“ I do humbly propound further, to have from the state, 1653.  
 “ table linnen, hangings, household stufte, and bedding, in <sup>Sept. 21.</sup>  
 “ such preportion as they shall thinke fitt, and as hath bin  
 “ allowed to others their ambaffadors and fervants, to be  
 “ received and returned by inventory.

“ I humbly desire the councell's letter to Mr. Ingelo, to  
 “ accompany me as chaplein: and if they shall thinke fitt  
 “ to write to Mr. Duery to the same purpose, I shall sub-  
 “ mit to it.

“ I humbly desire the councell's order to the judges of  
 “ the admiralty, to give dispatches to a Swedish ship, now  
 “ questioned in that court; in which ship, if she be re-  
 “ leased, I propose to send my baggage, to goe with me  
 “ to Gothenburgh; and from thence (if it may be) by sea  
 “ to Stockholme.

“ I humbly desire such order for my transportation, and  
 “ convoy by sea, as the councell shall think fitt; and, for  
 “ all accommodations in my sea voyage to Gothenburgh.

“ My lord, I beg your pardon of this tediousness, from

“ Your lordships humble fervant,

CHELSEY,  
 Sept. 20, 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The president, upon receipt of this letter, told the mes-  
 senger he would communicate it to the councells committee,  
 from whom, in a short time, Whitelocke should receive an  
 answer.



1653. A principall care of Whitelocke, as to those of his retinue,  
 ~~~~~ was to gett able and fitt chapleins, such as were of a pious  
 Sept. 21. life and conversation, and of good abilities and learning,
 for example and instruction of his company: and he de-
 sired to have them of a respectfull, civill, and courteous be-
 haviour to win uppon his people, and to credit him among
 strangers; and that they might be qualified with languages,
 especially latin, as most usefull abroad, and most expected
 from their profession.

Being informed of Mr. Ingelo to be a fitt person for one of
 his chapleins, and that had he ingaged to attend the lord
 viscount L'Isle, if he had gone; Whitelocke wrote to him
 to this purpose:

*For my worthy Friend, Mr. NATHANIEL INGELLO, Fellow of
 Eaton Colledge. These.*

“ S I R,

“ Being commaunded by the parlement to goe ambaf-
 “ sador into Sweden, I doe make it my earnest suit to you,
 “ that you would be pleased to accompany me in that jour-
 “ ney, according to your former resolutions to goe with
 “ my lord viscount L'Isle in the same service; the buisnes
 “ itselſe is honorable, and of that consequence to this na-
 “ tion's good, that I hope there will be no need of any
 “ other motive to perswade you to adhere to your former
 “ intentions therein; to which I shall only adde this, that
 “ no person in my company is more desired, nor shall be
 “ used with greater care and respect, than yourſelſe, by

“ Your affectionate
 “ friend to ſerve you,

CHELSEY,
 21 Sept. 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

This

This letter Whitelocke tooke order to be sent by a fitt 1653.
messenger to Mr. Ingelo, and to have some friends of best
esteem with him, to discourse with him about, and to be ^{Sept. 21.}
furnished with reasons to perswade him to goe this journey
with Whitelocke, who desired his company.

According to the appointment of the committee, White- 22.
locke was at Whitehall, where Mr. Lawrence told him, that
the report of his propofalls was not yett made to the coun-
cell; divers of them being absent at the committee for tithes,
which was then in hott pursuite, some for the taking of
them away, and others for the continuence of them: the
president appointed the next morning to meet at the com-
mittee, but afterwards sent a civill letter to Whitelocke to
excuse it; some of the councill still attending the buisnes
of tithes.

By advice of Sir Oliver Fleming, master of the cere- 23.
monies, that it was according to the custome of the ambaf-
fadors; Whitelocke sent two of his servants, who spake High
Dutch, to Mr. Lagerfeldt, an agent, now residing heer
from the queen of Sweden, and to Mr. Bonele, then com-
missioner heer for trade, with this message: "that the parle-
ment having appointed him to goe ambaffador to her most
serene majesty the queen of Sweden, he thought fitt, in re-
spect to her majesty, and to them her publique ministers
now residing in England, to give them notice hereof."

Both the gentlemen desired their thanks might be return-
ed to the ambaffador, for his civility and respect to the queen
their mistress, and to themselves; whereof they would give a
speedy account to her majesty. Whitelocke sent his comple-
ment on this day, being the post day, to give them opportu-
nity of writing it into Sweden; which they did this day.

1653. Upon a report from their committee, the councell
 made two orders, both to the same effect; whether through
 Sept. 24. incuriousnes of the councell, or their clerks, Whitelocke
 did not inquire; both were sent to him, the later order
 was this:

Saturday, 24th September, 1653.

Att the councell of state att Whitehall. Ordered, “ That
 “ the lord commissioner Whitelocke shall have the same
 “ allowance for his ambassy into Sweden as the lord vis-
 “ count L’Isle was to have had; that is to say, 6000 l. for
 “ the first six months, wherof 3000 l. is to be paid in pre-
 “ sent money, to such persons as his lordship shall ap-
 “ point to receive the same; and 3000 l. more, by bills of
 “ exchange; the provisions of coach, harness, and live-
 “ ryes being cast in over and above the forementioned
 “ allowance of 6000 l. and valued att 1000 l. in confide-
 “ ration of his lordship’s undertaking the journey in the
 “ winter season. And the councell doth further declare,
 “ that if there shall be occasion for his lordship’s stay in
 “ Sweden longer then six months, that there shall be duely
 “ allowed and paid to his lordship, the some of 600 l. per
 “ mens. which is the same allowance that was to have
 “ bin made to the lord viscount L’Isle, if he had stayed in
 “ Sweden longer than six months.

“ That such plate, table-linnen, hangings, household-
 “ stufte, and bedding, as are in the state’s wardrobe,
 “ and which are fitt for the lord commissioner Whitelocke’s
 “ use in his ambassy into Sweden, be furnished unto his
 “ lordship, by the wardrobe keeper, in such proportion
 “ as was to have bin furnished to the lord L’Isle; and that
 “ such plate, table-linnen, and other goods, be delivered
 “ to

“ to such persons as shall be appointed by his lordship to
 “ receive the same.

1653.
 ~~~~~  
 Sept. 24.

“ That the judges of the admiralty be sent unto, to cer-  
 “ tify to the councell, what proceedings have bin in the  
 “ buisnes of the ship, which pretends to belong to Sweden,  
 “ and to certify to the councell the whole state therof.

“ That a letter be written to Mr. Ingelo to goe along  
 “ with the lord ambassador, as chaplain, in his ambassy  
 “ into Sweden.

“ That Mr. John Duery be approved of by the coun-  
 “ cell, to goe as one of the chapleins to the lord commif-  
 “ sioner Whitelocke in his ambassy into Sweden, if his  
 “ lordship shall likewise approve of him.

“ Ex<sup>r</sup>. Jo. THURLOE, sec<sup>r</sup>.”

Both Whitelocke and his friend had too much cause to dislike the narrowness and illiberality of the allowance voted by the councell for him, which was judged too low and meane to defray his necessary and great expences; butt the seeming thrift for the commonwealth did now overweigh with some of the councell, the honor of the nation, and safety of their servant.

This straightnes of the councell rayfed many ferious thoughts in Whitelocke, how he might extricate himselfe from the present difficulties under which he lay; how he might quit the service imposed on him, and not fall into greater daungers and perplexities, then the employment would bring uppon him. He considered the improbability of advantaging his own fortunes, by serving under such narrow-



1653. narrowe-hearted masters, and the desperate perill of fayl-  
 ~~~~~  
 Sept. 24. ing of sufficient supplyes in a foreign countrey.

On the other side, he saw the bitterness of the spirit of many of those in power, who, if they were disappointed of their purposes, and should apprehend a neglect of them, and their authority, would not sticke furiously and haughtily to straine it, to the ruine of him whom they judged a contemner of it.

He, therefore, as farre as he thought in discretion he could, made some overtures and tryalls how to gett discharged of the imployment; butt the hearts of the present governors were so sett upon it to have him goe, that they would not heare of any thing from himselfe, or his friends, tending to the excuse of him from going.

Finding it thus, he contented himselfe in his assurance of God's love and protection, and in hopes to have an opportunity to serve him, and his countrey, and the interest of his people.

25. *The Lord's day.* Whitelocke was with his wife and family att the parish church, and had more than ordinary ceremony from his brother in office, whose meaning therein he understood.

After publique exercises of devotion, he retired himselfe, from the continuall discourses of his Swedish buisnes, unto his private meditations uppon the holy scriptures.

26. In a letter to Whitelocke from the councell was inclosed the same order which they sent to him the other day; such was the forgettfullness of their affayres.

Mr.

Mr. Bonele, an English marchant, who went to the queen of Sweden, had so farre gained her favour, that she honored him with the imployment of her publique minister, her commissioner for trade to England. 1653.
Sept. 26.

He came to Whitelocke this day, attended with two gentlemen, and two lacquayes in liveryes, and demeaned himselfe in the part of a publique minister. He discoursed of Whitelocke's journey, and that his best way would be by Gothenburg; and he magnified the civility and courtesy of the queen, his mistress, to all gentlemen and strangers that came into her countrey, especially to publique ministers; and (as it was due) of her great respects to those who were extraordinary ambassadors; which character, he said, he heard was deservedly intended for Whitelocke.

He was full of the buisnes of trade between the two nations, and of commerce in generall, and the honor of marchants.

Whitelocke went to the councell and had some discourse with them touching the smallenes of the allowance ordered for him, and that it might be increased; he gave his reasons freely to them, butt they gravely acquainted him, that the judgement of the councell held that allowance to be competent; and they having resolved it, that it was not in the committee's power to alter it; butt they promised to report to the councell his desires, and the reasons he had offered to them. 27.

Whitelocke also acquainted the committee, that Mr. Duery, whom the councell had recommended to be one of his chapleins, had, by letters, excused himselfe for want

1653. of health; butt Mr. Ingelo had consented to goe with him :
 Sept. 27. they seemed pleased therewith, butt Whitelocke was not so,
 att their backwardnes to increase his allowance; and so they
 parted.

Captain Bishop, secretary to the close committee, gave Whitelocke a paper of intelligence, which he had received from some of the king's party, his pensioners, which was thus :

September 17th, 1653.

Att a meeting of some of the king's chiefe agents, part of their discourse was this. One said, " what will be your
 " advantage when you have taken off Cromwell and Lam-
 " bert, seeing the present men in power are butt a com-
 " pany of giddy headed men; some of the old men, as
 " Bradeshawe, St. John, Whitelocke, Rolles, Vane, would
 " take the opportunity to bring themselves in power againe,
 " and if one of those gett it into their hands, we shall
 " never gett it out againe, they being the men that turned
 " the wheele of the nation formerly; and what Cromwell
 " did was by force to take it out of their hands, lest he
 " should be turned out himselfe.

" For Bradeshawe (said one) I heare he is going for
 " Wiltshire, I warrant you we shall take a course with him;
 " you need not feare his returne: he is left to himselfe
 " now, and out of his army guard; he will not be walk-
 " ing on his battlements att Whitehall.

" For Whitelocke (said another) it was the wisest act that
 " ever those men did to send him to Sweden; for he hath
 " a

“ a long journey to goe, and before he comes to his jour- 1653.
 “ neys end, he may meet with divers good friends.”

Sept. 27.

They were all of them of the opinion, that those men must be taken off, as well as Cromwell, for the reasons aforefaid; and that it was so concluded, without which, they said, their ends could not be effected.

From other hands Whitelocke heard, that the king, being offered by some their service to murder Whitelocke, he forbade them to doe so unworthy and sinfull an act, to which, he sayd, he would give no countenance, nor be party to it by the least connivance.

The intelligence from Bishop did not so much affect or disturbe Whitelocke, as to kindle any apprehensions in him of daunger; butt he looked upon it only as *taverne talke* of some giddy people.

Mr. Lagerfeldt sent his secretary to Whitelocke, to know what time he would be within, that Lagerfeldt might come to visit him: Whitelocke answered, that he had some extraordinary occasions for a few days; butt if Lagerfeldt pleased to come to him on Thursday next, in the afternoon, he would be then att home to receive the honor of his visite; at which the secretary went away, not seeming pleased that the receiving of his lord's visit should be so long deferred.

This order of the councell was brought to Whitelocke by 28.
 one of their messengers.

1653.

Wednesday, 28th September, 1653.

Sept. 28.

Att the councell of state att Whitehall. Ordered, " That
 " it be signified to the lord commissioner Whitelocke, that
 " if his lordship shall thinke fitt to nominate a fitt person
 " to goe with him as another chaplein in his ambassy into
 " Sweden; the councell will therupon be ready to advance
 " 100 l. unto him, as hath bin done to those made choice
 " of by the lord L'Isle.

Ex^r. Jo. THURLOE, sec^r."

Uppon this vote, more application was made than formerly for this imployment.

29. Mr. Lagerfeldt sent his servant to Whitelocke to excuse his not comming to him this day, as was appointed; which some supposed he did in point of state, bicause he was not admitted to his visit so soon as he expected; therefore he would not come so soone as was by Whitelocke appointed.

Whitelocke went to the generall, and informed him of the shortness of the allowance voted by the councell for his expences in his ambassy, not sufficient to defray the charges therof in such a manner, as would be for the honor of the common-wealth, and the security of their servant; wherof Cromwell seemed very sensible, and promised to move the councell for an increase of it.

30.

A messenger of the councell brought to Whitelocke a copy of the instructions which had bin prepared for the lord L'Isle, when he was to have gone ambassador to Sweden; and Whitelocke was desired to peruse them, and give
 us

his opinion what he thought fitt to be altered or added to 1653.
 them. He gave the messenger a note under his hand for ^{Sept. 30.}
 the receipt of them.

Lagerfeldt, in the afternoon, visited Whitelocke. He was tall, of an ingenious countenance, and civill behaviour; his carriage was in the port of a publique minister, rather above, than below his character.

He was attended with six gentlemen, well habited, and four lacquayes in liveries, decent, butt not rich or gawdy. Whitelocke mett him att the doore of his house, where (after salutations) Lagerfeldt spake, in good latin, to this effect:

Lag. Most excellent lord ambassador, I being acquainted from your excellence, that the parlement of the common-wealth of England have designed you to goe ambassador to her most serene majesty the queen of Sweden, my most gracious mistris; I have desired the permission of this visit, to give your excellence thanks for your respects therin: and in the name of her majesty (whose publique minister I have the honor to be to this common-wealth) I doe congratulate the great and deserved honor conferred on you by the parlement.

Whitelocke answered him in latin to this effect:

Wh. My lord, you are pleased to conferre uppon me a great addition of honor by the favour of this visit, and by testifying the respects of her majesty, your gracious mistris, to me her humble servant; and that by so noble a person as your lordship, her majesty's publique minister to this common-

1653. mon-wealth: I intreate this further favour from you, that
 Sept. 30. your lordship will be pleased to enter into this house, and
 to accept the command of it.

They went in together; the precedence given by Whitelocke to Lagerfeldt, bicause he was a stranger, and according to the custome of his, and other forreign countryes.

Whitelocke appointed some of his servants, who spake latin and high dutch, to entertaine Lagerfeldt's gentlemen with discourse and wine. Lagerfeldt and he sate together in the withdrawing-roome, and sometimes walked in the garden: they had many complements past between them; Lagerfeldt commending the choice of Whitelocke to be ambassador to his mistress, and Whitelocke's abilities for it, &c. Whitelocke modestly excusing his want of them, and advancing the honor and greatnes of the queen and nation of Sweden, and professing his respects and affection to them.

Lagerfeldt highly extolled the generosity and civility of the queen to strangers, especially to publique ministers, and said, it would be as high to Whitelocke as to any; and that there was no doubt but that he would have good successe in his buisnes, to which he knew her majesty, his mistress, was very well inclined.

Whitelocke asked his advice, which way would be best for him to take his journey; and Lagerfeldt was positive, that the best way for him would be by Gothenburgh: that if he should goe that way by land, he must travayle through the Lowe Countryes, and Denmarke, both which were enemies to England; and to goe by sea to Stockholme, would be

be daungerous att this time of the year ; and if frost should take them, it would be impaffable.

1653.

Sept. 30.

Whitelocke inquired of him touching the land journey from Gothenburgh to the court, and what accomodations were to be had by the way in that countrey.

Lagerfeldt said, that the journey by land would be long, neer 400 miles English, butt the way was good : and that the queen would give command, that no accomodations or provisions for him should be wanting, which the countrey would afforde ; and they were very good, though not such as travaylers use to meet with in England.

They discoursed of the murder of Ayscham, and Doriflaus, in Spayne, and in the Low Countryes, being publique ministers sent abroad by the parlement : to which Lagerfeldt said, that there was not the least daunger of any such thing to be attempted in Sweden ; that the queen, and her subordinat officers, were extraordinary carefull to prevent any such barbarous act ; and that neither her subjects, nor any straungers, durst commit, or presume to attempt, any such thing in her kingdome ; and if they should, the lawe was extreamly severe in those cases. Butt he said, that never any such fact had bin perpetrated among them : and Whitelocke, as to his life and freedome from assacination, might be as secure there as in any countrey in the world, and as in his own countrey.

Lagerfeldt spake much, how necessary it was for the common-wealth of England to answer the respects of the queen, his mistris, who had sent hither severall publique ministers, and had received yett none from hence, which she expected as a civility due to her ; and that the treaty between
the

1653. the two nations could not be so well concluded, without
 an ambassador from England, to be there upon the place.
 Sept. 30.

Much other discourse they had about the coldnes of the country, which Lagerfeldt said, might very well be indured, with warme cloathing, and good fuell, wherof they had plenty. Much other discourse passed between them, about the treaty, and divers other particulars; till, with long talking and walking, Whitelocke became very weary: and after many complements and ceremonies, Whitelocke brought him to his coach; and so they parted.

OCTOBER.

O C T O B E R.

THE councill of state was moved by Cromwell, according to his promise to Whitelocke, for an addition to the allowance formerly voted by them for Whitelocke's expences in the ambassy; and uppon Cromwell's motion, the councill voted 500 l. more to be added to their former vote for Whitelocke's allowance; who was troubled also at this finall addition, knowing that Cromwell, if he had so pleased, might as well have procured 500 l. per menssem, as one 500 l. only, to have bin added: for what Cromwell, and his private iuncto thought fitt to be done, was generally confirmed without objection; so great a power had he and his few private counsellors, which caused murmuring in many at it.

1653.
October
1.

Many suitors were importunate with Whitelocke to goe with him into Sweden, whom he denyed, because of the shortnes of his allowance. He was at the publique worship with his wife and family this Lord's day, and afterwards, at his private retirement and meditations.

2.

Doctor Winston, a true, noble, and bountifull friend to Whitelocke and his family, among other good offices, was very sollicitous to procure a good physitian to goe with Whitelocke in his journey, which he advised as necessary in that countrey; and because he feared sicknes, and mis-happs might be in so large a family, in so great a journey, change of diet and climate; and protested, that he would have gone himselfe with Whitelocke, butt that he was above

3.

1653. eighty years of age : and he encouraged Whitelocke, from
 the first, to undertake it.
 Octob. 3.

He pitched uppon doctor Whistler, whom he recommended to Whitelocke to goe with him ; himselfe provided medicaments both for physicke and surgery, wherein doctor Whistler was also experienced, being the physitian that tooke care of the wounded seamen, who were many in the war with the Dutch ; and doctor Whistler had gained much reputation in severall great cures on many of them. This imployment caused him, in discretion, to desire, that before he left it, he might have the states leave, and order for it ; which Whitelocke procured from the councill by this order :

Monday, October 3d, 1653.

Att the councill of state at Whitehall. Ordered, “ That
 “ doctor Whistler be sent unto, and desired to accompany
 “ the lord ambassador Whitelocke, as his physitian in his
 “ ambassy into Sweden.

“ Ex^r. Jo. THURLOE, sec^r. ”

Uppon this order he freely consented, and prepared to goe with Whitelocke in his voyage.

4. The councill having formerly ordered 3000 l. to be paid to Whitelocke in part of his allowance ; they now ordered Mr. Frost, secretary assistant to the councill, to pay the same, which he did to one of Whitelocke's servants ; and Whitelocke gave an acquittance to Mr. Frost for that 3000 l. on the backside of the councill's order.

White-

Whitelocke removed himselfe and wife, and some of his children, to his kind friend and brother-in-law's house, Mr. ^{1653.}
 Samuell Willson, whose wife and Whitelocke's wife were ^{Oct. 5.}
 sisters; that being there in London, he might be the neerer to his buisnes, and see his wife and part of his family settled with such friends as might be a comfort to her in her husband's absence.

A petition was presented by Whitelocke to the councell, desiring them to move the parlement, that the salary now behind and due to him as a commissioner of the Great Seale, being 1050 l. might be ordered by the house to be paid unto him; and the councell undertooke it. Whitelocke held it the fitter to be pressed at this time before his going; lest, if he did not receive it upon this occasion, he should never gett it. 6.

Captain Bishop sent him a long letter of intelligence, touching the swedish affayres, which he gathered to come from Sir John Cokeram, and returned thanks for it.

Captain Limrey sent him a letter, that he had procured a pilote for his voyage; whom Whitelocke trusted, being his friend, a man of much honesty and experience in sea matters.

Monfieur de la Marche, a Guernsey man, was intertained by Whitelocke to be his other chapelin. As to other ordinary imployments and service under him in his voyage, there being many earnest suitors, and divers particulars of several natures to be looked after in order to his journey, which Whitelocke had neither leisure nor liking to dispatch in his own person; he, by writing under his hand, desired some of his friends well knowne att court, and some of his owne officers 7.

1653. and gentlemen, and his son, or any three of them, to be
 as a committee for him and his affayres relating to his am-
 Oct. 7. bassay, to peruse the list of his retinue, to examine the fitt-
 nes of persons recommended to Whitelocke's service, to
 agree for wages, advance-money, &c. to take order for
 provisions, and preparations for the voyage: and to this
 committee Whitelocke referred all matters generally relating
 to this buisnes, and such as were most troublesome and lesse
 convenient for his own personall dispatch, and wherby envy
 and distaste were the more avoyded; many of the com-
 mittee being better able to undergoe them, than himselfe
 singly. This committee made applications to the councell
 and to committees of parlement, and tooke very much care
 and paines in this buisnes, approving their affection and
 friendship unto Whitelocke.

8. Having leifure, Whitelocke retired himselfe to discourse
 and reade french and latin; indeavouring to renew and
 improve his knowledge in those languages, wherof he was
 likely to have so much use in his employment.

Divers members of parlement, friends to Whitelocke, to
 do him a favour, sent him word, that they would come and
 dine with him; butt (as is usuall) they caused preparation
 and attendance for them, and then fayled to come, alleadg-
 ing the house long sitting for their apology.

Monfieur D'Espagne, minister of the french church, re-
 commended to Whitelocke some notes and advice from a rare
 phyfician in London, his countryman, to be observed by
 Whitelocke in his journey; and sent them with magnificent
 titles to him.

The Lord's day, Whitelocke went to the french church, 1653. which was neer unto his lodging; and there he heard very good preaching, and received civility from the members and officers of their congregation, who were pleased to take notice of him: and by hearing their ministers, who spake the best language, Whitelocke had the advantage the better to improve his own knowledge in the french tongue. Oct. 9.

Lagerfeldt sent his secretary to Whitelocke, to informe him, that divers swedish ships were heer detained as prizes against right; and he desired Whitelocke's assistance to gett them discharged; wherby he said, Whitelocke would oblige that crown and nation, and give them further cause of desiring and embracing an alliance with this common-wealth: heerof he sent a memoire in writing to Whitelocke, who promised to use his best indeavours in this or any other occasion, to testify his respects to that crown and nation. 10.

He tooke all times of leisure to meditate and study the buisnes and duety of ambassadors, which weighty charge he had undertaken; and from that text, Gen. xxiv. and the expositions of it, he found much light on this argument.

Whitelocke indeavoured to gett a release of the swedish ships detained as prize, and gave a paper to the councell for that purpose; but nothing effectually was done by them. 11.

The parlement ordered the payment of 1050 l. to Whitelocke, being the arreares of his salary as commissioner of the seale.

He gott together divers papers and bookes relating to his buisnes, as *Constitutio Regni Sueciæ*, Fowler's booke of the treaty between Sweden and Poland, *Respub. Sueciæ*, *Daniæ*, *Poloniæ*,

1653. ^{Oct. 11.} Poloniæ, the Succession of their kings, Exigefis Sueciæ, and others. His noble friend Sir Thomas Cotton, out of his rare treasury of antiquities, monuments, and manuscripts, lent him severall volumes in MS. of treatyes between England and Sweden, and between England and Denmarke, and between Sweden and Denmarke, and Polands, and divers other MS. concerning matters of trade, more particularly in the northerne parts; all which were carefully made use of by Whitelocke, in the perusall of them: and he had them with him in his being abroad; and he thankfully returned them to the owner, att his coming agayne to his own countrey.

12. By invitation Whitelocke mett at Mr. Croon's, at Cambdenhouse, with generall Blake, generall Monke, and divers other land and sea officers, with whom he had much discourse about his voyage, and many complements and ceremonies from them; and heer he had opportunity of speaking with them about ships for his transportation, wherein they promised and performed all courtesy.

The councell made this order.

“ These are to will and require you, to permit and suffer
 “ the lord ambassador Whitelocke to ship and transport his
 “ necessaries and horses, without any lett or molestation,
 “ in order to his going ambassador from this common-wealth
 “ to the queen of Sweden; of which you are not to fayle.

“ Given at the councell of state at Whitehall, this 12th
 “ of October, 1653.

To the Commissioners
 of the Customs.

“ Signed in the name, and by order
 “ of the councell of State.

“ WILLIAM SYDENHAM, President.”

They made another order, signed by the president and five members of the councell, for payment of 500 l. to Whitelocke, uppon account, directed to Mr. Frost; and another to the commissioners of Haberdashers Hall, for 1000 l. more uppon account to Whitelocke, towards defraying of the charges of his ambassy.

1653.
Oct. 12.

On the backside of the councells order, Whitelocke subscribed an acquittance for 500 l. Lagerfeldt's secretary brought newes from his lordship to Whitelocke, that the queen of Sweden was resolved to reside this winter at Gothenbergh, which newes Whitelocke had cause to wish might be true; and it would save him his land journey.

13.

Lagerfeldt's secretary desired Whitelocke to appoint a time and place for his lordship and Whitelocke to meet the next day: and although Lagerfeldt, in ceremony, should have come to Whitelocke, if he desired to speak with him; yett Whitelocke appointed a meeting att a friends chamber in Whitehall att the time desired.

The commissioners for compounding gave their warrant to the treasurers, for the payment of the 1000 l. last ordered to Whitelocke.

14.

He mett this afternoon with Lagerfeldt, who showed him a letter under the queen of Sweden's hand, that she intended to be at Gothenbergh this winter, for the better dispatch of the holland and english affayres; and wished Lagerfeldt, that if the resolution held of sending an ambassador to her from England, that he should councell the ambassador to come directly to Gothenbergh, where he should find the queen. Whitelocke doubted whether this purpose of her majesty

1653. majesty would hold ; butt Lagerfeldt was confident it
 would.
 Oct. 14.

They had much discourse what provisions Whitelocke should make, and about the swedish prizes ; and Lagerfeldt said, this was no good beginning of amity ; that Whitelocke's negociation would be furthered by the release of them, and perhaps obstructed by the detention of them. Whitelocke insisted upon the point of justice, whether those things were lawfull prize or not ; yet was very sensible of the consequence thereof, as to his buisnes ; and therefore laboured with the councill (though in vayne) for the release of them.

15. Sir Charles Oulsey, and divers other members of the parliament, dined with Whitelocke at his brother Willson's house, and had much discourse with him touching his journey ; and the deferring of it till the spring, before which time, he was perswaded, and (by these and some others in power, as farre as they could ingage) promised, that he should not be putt upon it : the reasons given by themselves were the danger, and almost impassableness of the northern seas in winter ; that the spring was more seasonable for the journey ; and it would be no prejudice to the affayres of England to putt it off till then.

Whitelocke had the more cause to hope it might be so ; because the councill of state had very much delayed the buisnes ; and in two months together had not prepared any commission, instructions, or credentialls ; and att this time of the year, though the wind had bin severall times fayre, had deferred the buisnes.

Sir Charles Oulsey and Mr. Moyer, being members of the councill, said they would move the councill this afternoon
 for

for an order to putt of his going till the spring ; butt Whitelocke desired them to consider, whether such a motion might not revive the buisnes, which now lay quiet, and being stirred, might putt the councill in mind to order his speedy departure, rather than his longer stay : butt these gentlemen were confident to gett the councill's order for deferring his journey ; and he must leave it to them, who were masters of their own motions, and councillors themselves. They made this motion to the councill in the afternoon, butt with contrary successe to what they undertooke ; and what Whitelocke and his friends expected.

1653.
O^ct. 15.

Mr. Bushell an ingenious gentleman, who had bin a servant to the lord chancellor Bacon, sent a civill letter to Whitelocke, with a noble present ; a curious rich cabinet of green velvet, with silver lace ; in it were two dozen of quart glasses of the most rare and best distilled spirits of hott waters, after the direction of his lord ; and every glasse had its screwes and cover of welch silver, chiefly found out by himselfe : it was fuitable to the time, and journey.

The councill made severall orders for hangings, household stufte, coaches, and other things for Whitelocke's journey.

In the evening, Sir Charles Oulsey, Mr. Strickland, and alderman Tichborne came to Whitelocke, as a committee of the councill, and acquainted him, that the councill had this day taken into consideration the buisnes of his journey into Sweden ; and had sent them to him, to lett him know, that uppon serious debate, as affayres now stand, the councill found it necessary that Whitelocke should transport himselfe with all expedition into Sweden ; and desired him to prepare himselfe accordingly.

1653. Whitelocke told them, he was much surprized with this
 ~~~~~ unexpected message and commaund, especially having bin  
 Oct. 15. assured by some (and of no smalle capacity to make it good)  
 that he should not be putt upon this journey till the spring;  
 and that some of this committee were perswaded that they  
 could procure an order of the councill for his stay till that  
 time; and now to bring such a positive order to the con-  
 trary, and the allowance yett voted was so short, this time  
 of the year so unseasonable, his wife's condition so unfitt to  
 be left, and the publique affayres not requiring his speedy  
 departure, seemed strange to him, and was the lesse ex-  
 pected by him.

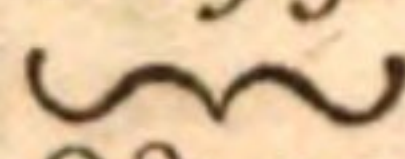
The committee replied, that the councill had weighed  
 all considerations, and found it requisite that he should goe  
 as soon as possibly he could.

Whitelocke then desired them as private friends, to ac-  
 quaint him how it came to passe, that upon the motion  
 of some of them for his stay till spring, it should be ordered  
 that speedily he must take his voyage.

They answered; that when the motion was made, it  
 brought matters to the consideration of the councill, which  
 otherwise perhaps would not have bin stirred or thought  
 upon; and as (they confest) himselfe had said before, the  
 moving of the buisness occasioned the order, which otherwise  
 probably had not bin yett made; and what his friends de-  
 signed by moving it, to have bin a service to him, proved  
 an inconvenience; for which they were sorry, butt could  
 not now help it: and so the committee left him.

This putt Whitelocke to some perplexity, and his wife  
 into great passion; butt the ingagement was too farre  
 7 past,



past, to disobey or dispute commaunds of superiors ; he 1653.  
 saw no other way butt to conforme : and still resolving to   
 trust God for his protection and blessing, he determinèd to Oct. 15.  
 buckle himselfe to his buisnes with diligence, and to indea-  
 vor the speedy preparation of things necessary for his voyage,  
 and that with all diligence.

*The Lord's day.* Whitelocke was at the french church, 16.  
 and had one of his chapleins in the afternoone to officiate in  
 his house, his wife not being well ; and he had leisure to re-  
 tire himselfe to private meditations on the holy word.

Whitelocke was invited to meet Cromwell, and the land 17.  
 and sea officers, att a publique dinner and intertainment at  
 Grocers Hall.

The councill tooke yett no further order about the rest of  
 his money, nor for his commissions and instructions ; never-  
 theles sent to him, speedily to take his journey. He, to pre-  
 vent any censure of his negligence, directed the hiring of one  
 merchant's ship to carry his baggage, and another for his  
 horses : he ordered no goods to be taken on board any of his  
 ships, nor as belonging to his company, unlesse they had  
 uppon the packett or tronke Whitelocke's coate of armes in  
 a smalle escutcheon of a print properly made for it ; and  
 with this marke the officers past all goods without searche.  
 He sealed writings for the felling of his estate, and to pre-  
 vent controversies after his death, and to raise portions for  
 his younger children ; he appointed fervants to manage his  
 affayres in the countrey ; and to his wife he left the com-  
 maund of all.

Whitelocke made correspondents to answer all his bills of 18.  
 exchange ; his brothers-in-law, Mr. John Carleton, and Mr.



1653. Samuell Willson, merchants, of good value and credit, and  
 his kind friends.  
 Oct. 18.

For private letters he chiefly desired his old friend Mr. Hall, and Mr. Cokaine, now living in his house, and well acquainted in the army, and with many in power, to receive and answer such letters; and Mr. Cokaine constantly to send to him, and to act for his affairs here as there should be occasion.

And for more publique letters, he settled a correspondence with his friends, Mr. Thurloe, secretary to the council, Sir Charles Oulsey, and others.

19. Upon advice and encouragement of Cromwell, Whitelocke sent to Lagerfeldt; "that if he pleased to accompany Whitelocke, as his friend, to a dinner in the city, where he should meet the lord generall Cromwell, the generalls at sea, and many of the land and sea officers, that his company would be acceptable to them all, as it was to Whitelocke at all times."

Lagerfeldt came willingly to Whitelocke, and they went together to Grocers Hall, where the feast was; and this Whitelocke designed, that Lagerfeldt might be a witness of the solemnity, and of the unity of that company, being three hundred officers.

Before dinner, Mr. Peters prayed, and expounded a place of scripture, and a psalme was sung; Lagerfeldt being present, and very attentive.

At dinner, Lagerfeldt sat by Cromwell, at the board's end; Whitelocke on the right hand bench uppermost; the  
 generall



general discoursed a little in latin with Lagerfeldt, White-  
locke more: there were three very long tables full in the  
hall; those at each table severally, and with ceremony, first  
dranke to Cromwell, then to Lagerfeldt; and they after-  
wards, severally, dranke to each table; then all the tables  
together dranke to Whitelocke, wishing him a good voyage,  
and their respects to the queen of Sweden; with which ce-  
remonies Lagerfeldt seemed much pleased, and that he was  
admitted to this meeting.

1653.

Oct. 19.

After the solemnities were past, every one parted to their  
severall lodgings, and occasions. Lagerfeldt had much dis-  
course with Whitelocke in their returne from this meeting,  
wondering att the civility and good order of so great a  
company, and that there was not a health drunke, nor the  
least rudenesse among any of them. Whitelocke told him,  
this was their constant demeanor, which Lagerfeldt highly  
commended; and, after ceremonies, they also parted.

By appointment, Whitelocke mett Lagerfeldt att the  
Doctors Commons, to speake with the judges of the admi-  
ralty about the swedish ships detained for prize. In the  
discourse with the judges Lagerfeldt betrayed much choller  
and passion; Whitelocke pressed to the judges the release of  
those ships, and had good words; butt little effect thereof  
could be obtained.

20.

Whitelocke received 1000 l. more in part of his allow-  
ance for his expences.

After much protraction of time, the councill att length  
reported to the parlement a commission, credentiall letters,  
and instructions for Whitelocke, as ambassador extraordi-  
nary to the queen of Sweden.

21.

They



1653. They found worke enough this day to reade, debate,  
 and passe them in the house; and disputes were rayfed in  
 Oct. 21. some of the particulars, and most from those who had least  
 understanding and experience in affayres of this nature: butt  
 att length they passed as they were reported.

22. The custody of the library att St. James's had bin formerly committed to Whitelocke, wherein were many rare manuscripts, and choice bookes of the king's, wherof Whitelocke was a lover, and a carefull preserver, otherwise they had all bin sold and imbeaziled. Uppon Whitelocke's going out of England, Mr. Lawrence procured an order for Whitelocke to deliver up the keyes of that library to the committee of the councell appointed to take care of it, which Whitelocke obeyed; and so Mr. Lawrence gott the custody of it to himselfe\*.

23. *This Lord's day*, Whitelocke was att Mr. Cokain's church, where was a christian mention, and recommendation of him in their prayers to God, that he would be a protection and blessing to him in his journey. In the afternoone he stayerd att home, his wife not being well, and he not long to stay with her.

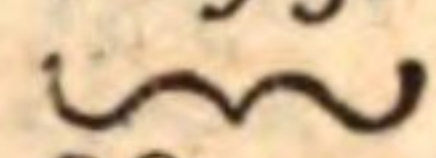
The wind came about very fayre for Whitelocke's voyage; and att this time of the yeare, it was hard for one that must goe, yett to loose such opportunities; but the councell were not ready, and Whitelocke must goe when they command, and yett attend their leisure.

24. The general att sea gave forth this order for Whitelocke's voyage.

\* Concerning the present situation of this valuable library, vid. note to our author's comment upon the king's writ, &c. vol. ii. p. 279.

“ After



“ After you have received on board the lord Whitelocke, 1653.  
 “ with his retinue, and such goods as he shall thinke fitt to  
 “ send on board you; you are then, wind and weather   
 “ permitting, to sett sayle with the ship under your com-  
 “ mand, (in company with the Elizabeth frigott, and such  
 “ other vessells as are appointed to attend uppon the said  
 “ lord Whitelocke, ambassador extraordinary for Sweden;  
 “ who are heerby required to observe your orders,) and  
 “ yourselfe, to observe such instructions and directions, as  
 “ you shall receive from the said lord ambassador, whom  
 “ you are to land att such porte as he shall thinke fitt;  
 “ which done, you are to make your repayre to Portef-  
 “ mouth, there to receive further orders: and this shall be  
 “ your warrant. Given under our hands and seales, att  
 “ Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1653.

To Captain Nicholas Foster,  
 commander of the Phoenix  
 frigott.

“ JO. BLAKE.  
 “ GEO. MONCK.”

The copy of this order was brought to Whitelocke, as a testimony of the high respect to him, by giving him the commaund of the frigotts, and other vessells, which were to transport him; and that knowing his power, he might make the better use of it.

Whitelocke sate in the chancery; and after he had given the rule in two or three motions, he rose and tooke his leave of his brethren, and of the gentlemen att the barre, and of the officers, who gave him all testimonies of civility and respect, as is usually done to men in authority: he had the like courtesy from the other courts in Westminster-hall, whom he saluted as he passed by them. 25.

Besides



1653. Besides his private and particular seeking to God for  
 his councill and blessing in this undertaking, he had the  
 Oct. 25. joynt prayers of his friends with him; divers of them mett  
 in the evening att his brother Willson's house, severall  
 members of Mr. Cokain's church, and among them Mr.  
 Taylor expounded a place of scripture very pertinently, and  
 severall of them prayed very affectionately for Whitelocke,  
 and the good successe of his buisnes; and divers expounded  
 places of scripture fuitable to the occasion. Whitelocke's  
 wife was present, full of grieve, trouble, and passion.  
 Whitelocke himselfe spake to the company to this effect:

“ My very worthy friends,

“ Such you have shewed yourselves to be by this meet-  
 “ ing; severall of you have spoken what it hath pleased  
 “ God to putt into your hearts, and that with great piety  
 “ and affection; and have sought God on my behalfe, and  
 “ I suppose you may expect to heare something from me  
 “ likewise on this occasion, wherein I am so much con-  
 “ cerned. I shall not hold you long, and shall speake  
 “ from that scripture from which I have taken much com-  
 “ fort, Gen. xxviii. 15. where God makes this promise to  
 “ Jacob, in his journey to Padan Aram: “ Behold I am  
 “ with thee, and will keep thee in all places, whither thou  
 “ goest, and will bring thee againe into this land.”

“ Jacob was a faithfull servant of God, and heir of the  
 “ promise; I am a poor inconsiderable worme; yett God  
 “ delights to glorify his mercy on the meanest subjects.  
 “ God directed this journey of Jacob's, I hope he hath  
 “ directed mine, and called me to it; I am sure I did not  
 “ seeke it, nor had ever any one a freer call to any ser-  
 “ vice. Methinkes I heare the same words spoken by the  
 “ same



“ same God, though to so worthless a creature as I am: 1653.

“ “ Behold I am with thee in all places ; whither thou goest, <sup>Oct. 25.</sup>

“ I will bring thee againe into this land.” My confidence

“ is in this mercy of God ; and my hopes, that he may use

“ me as an instrument to promote his honor, hath bin my

“ chiefe motives for this undertaking, and is my only hope

“ to partake of this gracious promise. These words to

“ Jacob are spoken to all who shall be att any time in

“ God’s service, and depend on him.

“ That I have designed heerby to serve my countrey,

“ without expectation of profit to myselfe, may have the

“ more credit from the smallenes of my allowances, and

“ the unlikelyhood of advantage by the imployment.

“ Nor was there much pleasure to be aimed att in so

“ long and daungerous a journey to the northerne coun-

“ tryes, in the depth of winter: nor could much honor be

“ added by it to my present condition ; and if any, it would

“ be farre fetcht, short, and deare bought.

“ It is the honor of God, the good of his people, the

“ advantage of my countrey, which are the grounds of this

“ my undertaking ; wherein I desire to trust in my God,

“ who hath bin with me in many former great actions and

“ perills, “in six troubles and in seven.” I hope he will be

“ still unto me (as he is to all that rest uppon him) a sun to

“ direct me, to give me light to shine uppon me, and to

“ comfort me ; a shield to protect and defend me and my

“ company ; and an exceeding great reward to me, farre

“ beyond any that the most bountifull state or prince can

“ bestow uppon their best deserving servants.



1653. " I have butt one thing more to trouble you with att  
 ~~~~~  
 Oct. 25. " this time ; it is to returne my most hearty thanks to
 " you for the favour and comfort of this meeting, for your
 " pious exhortations, and fervent prayers to God on my
 " behalfe.

" O that I might be carryed forth in this action uppon
 " the winges of prayer ; I hope I shall : and make it my
 " earnest suit to you, my christian friends, that as now,
 " and att severall other times, you and many others have
 " bin seeking the Lord for me ; that your prayers may not
 " cease ; that they may not leave me, when I shall leave
 " you ; butt that whilst I am with you, and in my
 " absence from you, I may be remembred in your prayers,
 " and recommended to the protection, guidance, and
 " blessing of him, who is the God of prayer and mercy ;
 " who delights in such offerings as these, and never denyes
 " his blessings to those that seeke him with fervent hearts
 " and prayers."

Mr. Cokain concluded with very patheticall and affectionate prayers to God, on Whitelocke's behalfe, very suitable, and pertinent to the occasion ; and then, it being late, they parted, with all love and hearty expressions of good wishes to him.

26. Lagerfeldt and Bonnele had earnestly solicited Whitelocke to procure the discharge of the swedish ships detained as prize, wherby he would ingage the merchants and seamen, and the whole state of Sweden.

He laboured heartily to doe it, and personally with the judges of the admiralty, and with the councell, and chiefly uppon the argument of furthering their service by it ; yett
 could

could he not obtaine the least favour from them on the 1653.
Swedes behalfe, butt the buisnes was delayed, and unef-
fectd, to Whitelocke's great discouragement. Oct. 26.

Cromwell sent one of his gentlemen with a present to Whitelocke; a sword, and a payre of spurres, richly inlayed with gould, of a noble work and fashion.

An old and faithfull servant to Whitelocke, who had served his father and him forty years, would needs come himselfe to London, to take his leave of his master, and in his cart, brought up with him meale and other things for Whitelocke's journey; he would not be perswaded to stay all night in London; butt, in his returne home, near Maydenhead, he suddenly fell downe in the highway, not able to speake; his men helped him up into his carte, and there presently, and quietly, he departed out of this world, and became a saint in heaven: he was on earth, a faithfull, discreet, and loving servant and friend to Whitelocke, and his family.

According to order, Whitelocke sent in to the councell, a list of all his retinue.

Chapleins, Mr. Ingelo, Mr. de la Marche.

Physitian, doctor Daniel Whistler.

Steward, John Walker, esq;

Receiver, and chiefe secretary, Daniel Earle, esq; his meniall servant.

Gentleman of the horse, Mr. Stapleton.

Clerk of the stable, and sewer, captain Crispe.

Second sewer, lieutenant Hughes.

Apothecary, Mr. John Preston.

1653.

Oct. 26.

Gentlemen admitted to his table; colonel James Whitelocke and William Whitelocke, his sons, colonel Potley, Mr. Annesley, son to the lord of Valentia, captain Richard Beake, captain Unton Croke, Mr. Vavasour eldest son to Sir William Vavasour, Mr. Burges, Mr. Andrewes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Moreland, Mr. Potley. These gentlemen had of their servants about twenty-five, and all their lacquays in Whitelocke's livery.

Of his bed-chamber, William de Vaux, Jo. Taylor, William Fitzherbert.

Barber, Mr. Richard Ratcliffe.

Messenger, Mr. Richard Meredith.

Chiefly for musick, Mr. Smith, Mr. Maylard.

Purveyor, Mr. Studeley a troupier.

Gentlemen servitors att Whitelocke's table; Mr. Frye, Mr. Davys, Mr. Draper, Mr. Bunbury, Troupes.

Pages, Mr. Parry, Mr. Elfing, Mr. Croke, Mr. Newbury.

Lacquays, Robert Dun, Robert Lewis, Thomas Briers, Robert Story, Humphry Murrey, Richard Cranke, Thomas Lloyd, Arthur Hutton, of the general's regiment of foot, proper, stout, and civill men.

Trumpets, Edward Simpson, William Waters.

Chiefe cookes, Richard Hill, Richard Dunne.

Second cookes, Henry Collington, William Hains.

Butlers, Thomas Thoroughton Whitelocke's meniall servant, and Christopher Hen.

Coachmen, Edward Ellis, an old menial servant, and Robert Ash, a menial servant.

Postilions, Aur. Newman, Roger Lowe.

Groomes, Nicholas Hughes, Thomas Hall, Francis Sharpe, and Nathaniel Sharpe, meniall servants.

Porter, Thomas Home, meniall servant.

Scullery-man, Sebastian Corall.

There were besides, severall other persons; and for the laundry, three women, Elizabeth Roberts, Susan Turner, and another.

1653.

Oct. 26.

The whole number of his retinue was about one hundred persons.

Lagerfeldt's secretary brought to Whitelocke, from his master, a latin letter, to desire his assistance in furthering Lagerfeldt's dispatch, and the discharge of the swedish ships. Whitelocke desired that Lagerfeldt would meet him in the afternoon, and they had much discourse together about the ships: it was excused by Whitelocke the best he could, that they were not yett discharged.

27.

Whitelocke's wife, (though so passionately averse to his journey) yett when she sawe he must goe, she took pains in her own person, to buy necessaries, and make provisions of wine, beere, meale, baked meats, butter, cheese, fruits, sweet-meats, and all provisions, and household-stuffe, hard to be mett with in Sweden, but necessary for his accomodation. He had divers good horses of his own, for the coach, and saddle; and he bought more, the best that he could meet with, though att high prizes; resolving to have (as farre as he could) the best of every thing, for the honor of his countrey.

He caused a merchants ship, called the Adventure, to be hired; and therin, with deale-boards, to be made rackes, mangers, and divisions, for all his horses, to keep them from hurting themselves, or one another, in the tossing of the ship: he contrived there also stowage for hay, oates, and

1653. and strawe; so that it was a compleate stable on ship
board.
Oct. 27.

Another ship, called the Fortune, was hired to carry his baggage, and provisions, which was no smalle quantity; he tooke an account of his servants, how ready all things were for his voyage.

By his appointment, all his company mett in the chappell att Whitehall, to seek God for his protection, and blessing on them, in their intended journey.

The doores were open; Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Ingelo prayed, and expounded severall texts of scripture, giving good exhortations to all the company, with great fervency, and pertinent to the occasion; so that many affirmed, they never were att any meeting of this nature, which appeared more spirituall and comfortable to their souls, then this was.

Whitelocke himselfe concluded by speaking to the company to this effect:

“ Gentlemen,
“ I doe acknowledge myselfe much ingaged to you all,
“ who are willing to adventure your lives with me, in our
“ intended journey; butt before we beginne it, I shall take
“ leave to informe you of very great hardships, and
“ daungers, which you must expect to meet with in my
“ company: therefore, I shall say to you, as Gideon said
“ to his people, whosoever is fearfull, lett him returne and
“ depart; and as Judas Maccabæus commanded those of
“ his company, that if any of them were fearfull, they
“ should

“ should returne ; the like desire I make to you, whose
 “ hearts may fayle you, who have any doubt to hazard
 “ yourselves with me in these daungers and hardships
 “ which, (I must tell you before hand) will be great and
 “ many. To such of you I give my true consent, nay, I
 “ require them to returne and leave me, and I willingly
 “ disingage them.

1653.

Oct. 27.

“ I hold it fitt likewise to acquaint you, that I shall
 “ indeavour strictly to observe the decree of Joshua ; “as for
 “ me, and my house, we will serve the Lord.” Through his
 “ grace, I shall resolve to keep a strict discipline, and
 “ order, in the government of my house ; not to permit
 “ any debauchery, prophaneness, licentiousness, swearing,
 “ cursing, quarrelling, or the like, as farre as God shall
 “ inable me to hinder it ; butt such offences and disorders
 “ shall be punished, in whomsoever of my family they shall
 “ be found.

“ Therefore, as Joshua said to his people, “If it seem evil
 “ unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day, whom
 “ ye will serve.” If any of you have the least reluctancy in
 “ your owne hearts, as to the severity of my discipline,
 “ and cannot with freedome submitt therunto, I intreate
 “ such not to deceive themselves and me, by hoping for
 “ connivance to any disorders, which I shall not beare :
 “ butt such will doe better, yett to withdraw themselves,
 “ and stay att home ; rather then among strangers to dis-
 “ honor the profession of religion, and their countrey.

“ Butt if your courages doe serve you for this action,
 “ and that you will fully conforme to the orders of my
 “ family ; I doe, with all willingnes and affection, receive
 “ you into my company, rejoycing att this great testimony
 “ of

1653. “ of your love to your countrey, and to me, by adven-
 ~~~~~  
 Oct. 27. “ turing your lives with me : and I do promise to take  
 “ care of you, as of my sons that goe along with me. I  
 “ hope God will make me a father to all my family ; no-  
 “ thing in my power shall be wanting for your accomoda-  
 “ tions and safety, no hardship or daunger putt uppon  
 “ you, butt I shall be willing to beare my share of it ; and  
 “ I doubt not butt the blessing of God will goe along  
 “ with us.”

With this the company were dismissed : not one of them  
 started from their former engagements ; butt many more  
 pressed to be intertained, which the smallnes of his allow-  
 ance would not admit ; so that he was fayne to putt off  
 above two hundred gentlemen and others, who made suit  
 to go with him in this journey.

28. A messenger brought this order to Whitelocke.

*Friday, 28th October, 1653.*

“ Resolved uppon the question by the parlement, that  
 “ to-morrow morning be appointed for the lord commif-  
 “ sioner Whitelocke, lord ambassador extraordinary to the  
 “ queen of Sweden, to come to the house to receive his  
 “ commission.

“ HEN. SCOBEL, Clerke Par.”

Whitelocke tooke more paines about the release of the  
 swedish ships, and had fayre promises, butt the performance  
 delayed and fayled.

According



According to order, Whitelocke this morning attended the parlement; many members of the house came to him to the court of wards chamber, where he staid till he should be called, and they wished him a good voyage. 1653.  
Oct. 29.

Within a quarter of an hower he was sent for; the sergeant was ready, and brought him into the house with usuall ceremonies, up to the table; the speaker said to him:

“MY LORD,

“The parlement have appointed you to go ambassador  
“extraordinary from them to the queen of Sweden; and  
“by their commaund, I deliver to you your commission,  
“and credentiall letters, and instructions, with another letter  
“to the queen; and wish you a safe and prosperous journey,  
“and returne back agayne to your native countrey.”

As the custome is, Whitelocke spake nothing, butt received the commission, letters, and instructions from the clerke, to whom the speaker gave them to deliver unto Whitelocke, who returned to the doore, performing the usuall ceremonies; and the members stood up in their places, and putt off their hats as he passed by saluting them, a ceremony seldome used to any butt forein publique ministers.

Many members and others came to him when he was come forth of the house, to take their leaves of him, and testified great civility and respect to him.

The commission which the speaker delivered to Whitelocke was under the great seale, and was thus.



1653.

~~~~~

Oct. 29.

“ Parliamentum reipublicæ Angliæ omnibus et singulis ad
 “ quos præsentēs hæ nostræ litteræ pervenerint, sa-
 “ lutem. Quum libertate jam Dei optimi maximi au-
 “ spiciis recuperata et restituta Anglicæ reipublicæ ;

“ Decretum a parlamento, nec non edicto edito promul-
 “ gatum sit, velle atque admodum cupere populum Angli-
 “ canum, et quod ad se attinet operam daturum, ut quæ
 “ sibi amicitia cum exteris quibuscunq; nationibus vel an-
 “ tiquitus vel recens intercedit facta tecta conservetur ; vel
 “ etiam redintegrato, si opus esset fœdere, renovetur.

“ Nos idcirco, ne inceptum tam bonum tamq; pacificum
 “ finem speratum non assequeretur ; omnes respublicas,
 “ status, principes, civitates ac populos, et præsertim serenif-
 “ simam et excellentissimam Christinam Dei gratia Suecorum,
 “ Gothorum, Vandalorumq; reginam, magnam principem
 “ Finlandiæ, ducem Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ,
 “ Statini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, et Vandalæ, principem
 “ Rugiæ nec non dominam Ingriæ et Wisimariæ, &c. hac
 “ de re certiolem faciendam esse decrevimus ; cum qua ut
 “ amicitiam et societatem arctiorem contrahere velimus,
 “ et antiqua communisq; religionis defensio, et commercium
 “ non inutiliter frequentissimum suadeat, et hortatur. Sciatis
 “ igitur quod nos prudentiæ, solertiæ, diligentæ fidei ac pro-
 “ bitati spectatissimæ illustrissimi viri Bulstrodi Whitelocke,
 “ constabularii castri de Windsor, et unius custodum magni
 “ sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ plurimum tribuentes, ipsum
 “ prænominatum Bulstrodam Whitelocke nostrum verum,
 “ et indubitatum commissarium, procuratorem, deputatum,
 “ et legatum extraordinarium, ad prædictum negotium fe-
 “ cimus, constituimus, ordinavimus, ac deputavimus,
 “ dantes eidem, et committentes plenam potestatem et
 “ authoritatem, nomine nostro, cum prædicta serenissima
 “ et

“ et excellentissima Suecorum regina, ejusq; procuratoribus 1653.
 “ ac deputatis, ad hoc sufficientem authoritatem et potesta-
 “ tem habentibus, tractandi et transigendi ea omnia quæ ad Oct. 29.
 “ arctiorem amicitiam ac foedus, et antiquum liberumq;
 “ commercium inter Angliæ rempublicam, et excellentissi-
 “ mam Suecorum reginam, et quascunq; sub utriusq; ditione
 “ positos promovendum ac stabilendum conducunt et faci-
 “ unt; secundum ea mandata quæ à parlamento, vel à con-
 “ cilio status parlamenti, auctoritate constituto, jam accepit,
 “ aut per litteras accepturus est. Promittentes bona fide
 “ nos quæ inter prædictum serenissimam et excellentissimam
 “ Suecorum reginam ejusq; procuratores et deputatos, atq;
 “ prænominatum Bulstrode Whitelocke nostrum commis-
 “ sarium et legatum extraordinarium, transacta et conclusa
 “ fuerint, modo illo quo supradictum est, ea omnia rata ac
 “ firma habituros, et ex nostra parte observaturos. In cujus
 “ rei testimonium his se litteris (quibus manus prolocutoris
 “ nostri subscribitur) magnum reipublicæ Angliæ sigillum
 “ opponi fecimus. Datum in palatio Westmonasterienfi,
 “ Vigesimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini millesimo,
 “ sexcentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio.

“ FRANCISCUS ROUS, Prolocutor parlamenti
 “ reipublicæ Angliæ.”

The credentiall letters delivered by the speaker to White-
locke were thus.

“ Parlamentum, &c. serenissimæ principi Christinæ Sue-
 “ corum, &c. reginæ salutem, et prosperos rerum
 “ successus.

“ SERENISSIMA REGINA,

“ Cum utile et necessarium rite judicatur, ut qui com-
 “ muni saluti prospectam vellent, in commune consulerent,

1653. “ et confilia invicem miscerent ; adeoq; multis officiis cres-
 cat indies amicitia : idcirco visum est parlamento rei-
 Oct. 29. “ publicæ Angliæ delegare ad majestatem vestram prænobi-
 lem atq; illustrissimum virum, Bulstrodam Whitelocke,
 “ constabularium castri de Windsor, atq; unum è custodi-
 bus magni sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ, legatum nostrum
 “ extraordinarium, ut de consiliis, et negotiis, quæ utriq;
 “ genti et præsidio, et honori sint, vobiscum communicaret.
 “ Rogamus igitur majestatem vestram, ut legatum nostrum
 “ extraordinarium amice, et benigniter excipiatis ; et au-
 “ dientiam quotiescunq; petierit concedatis : utq; fides iis
 “ quæ à parte hujus reipublicæ ab eo proponenda sunt ad-
 “ hibeatur. Et sic vestram majestatem valere jubemus ; pro-
 “ spera omnia, et foelicia, vobis comprecantes. Datis
 “ Westmonasterio 29 Octobris, 1653. Subscripsit, et sigil-
 “ lum parlamenti imprimendum curavit,

“ FR. ROUS, Prolocutor parlamenti
 “ reipub. Angliæ.”

The instructions which the speaker delivered to Whitelocke were these.

“ The parlement of the common-wealth of England, hav-
 “ ing in this present conjuncture of affayres thought good
 “ to send an extraordinary ambassador to the queen of Swe-
 “ den, to communicate with that queen in matters relating
 “ to the common good ; and having experience of your
 “ fidelity and discretion, held it requisite to make choice of,
 “ and appoint you to this negotiation.

“ You are therefore to transport yourselfe with all con-
 “ venient speed to the queen of Sweden, at Stockeholm,
 “ or

“ or elsewhere ; and deliver your credentialls to her
 “ majesty.

1653.
 Oct. 29.

“ You are to signify to the said queen, that the parle-
 “ ment of the common-wealth of England, taking notice
 “ of the constant intercourse of friendship and amity,
 “ which hath always bin between England and Sweden, out
 “ of which great profit and happines hath redounded unto
 “ both. And that, although it hath pleased the gracious
 “ and all-disposing hand of God, for the good of this na-
 “ tion, to change the government of the same ; that yett
 “ the same common interests, that first begatt former alliances
 “ and confederacies between them, doe still continue and
 “ oblige both to desire the good of each other.

“ And considering withall that the affayres of Christen-
 “ dome, and especially of the neighbouring princes and
 “ states, through divine Providence are in such posture
 “ and condition, as to give greater opportunity, and lay
 “ stronger obligations uppon both, to intertaine a nearer
 “ union and correspondence than heertofore ; wherby the
 “ commerce and tranquility of both nations may be pre-
 “ served, and provided for, with respect also to the com-
 “ mon interest and concernment of the true Protestant
 “ religion.

“ And the said queen, having by her late publique mini-
 “ ster hither, signified her royall inclinations and willing-
 “ nes, by all good means to conserve and increase the antient
 “ good understanding between these states ; the parle-
 “ ment, uppon these and other weighty considerations, and
 “ to show how acceptable the former overtures of her said
 “ majesty have bin to them,

“ Have

1653. " Have thought fitt, by you, to make tender of the
 friendship of this common-wealth unto the said queen of
 Oct. 29. " Sweden ; and to lett her know, that the parlement of the
 " common-wealth of England is not only ready to renew,
 " and preserve inviolably, that amity and good correspon-
 " dence which hath antiently bin between the english and
 " swedish nations ; but are further willing to enter into a
 " more strict alliance and union, than hath hitherto bin,
 " for the good of both ; with such further expressions of
 " the affections and good wishes of the parlement to the
 " prosperity of her affayres, as you shall judge requisite.

" You shall, as occasion shall be offered, present to the
 " said queen the true state of the present differences between
 " this common-wealth and that of the united provinces.

" If any person shall take upon him the quality of pre-
 " fident, agent, ambassador, or publique minister there,
 " from the son of the late king, and indeavor to be received
 " in that quality, you are to doe your utmost to oppose
 " and hinder the same ; and if such person shall have had
 " audience in that quality before your arrivall, you are to
 " deliver in your protest against the same, at such season
 " as you shall judge most convenient.

" You are to performe all usuall civilities and correspon-
 " dencies with the publique ministers of other princes or
 " states, friends or allies to this common-wealth, who shall
 " be residing with the said queen of Sweden during your
 " abode there.

" You shall apply yourselfe, as cause shall require, to re-
 " move all misrepresentations, that are or shall be made by
 " any whomsoever, of the proceedings of the common-
 " wealth's

“ wealth’s affayres, and of the parlement ; and shall from 1653.
 “ time to time, by writing, printing, or otherwise, declare ~~~~~
 “ the true state therof ; and indeavor the conserving of a Oct. 29.
 “ good understanding and correspondence between these
 “ two states.

“ You are to have a due regard during your aboade there,
 “ to all such matters wherein the trade and commerce of this
 “ common-wealth and the people thereof are concerned ;
 “ and to procure right to be done according to justice and
 “ equity.

“ You are to pursue the present instructions, and such
 “ as you shall from time to time receive from the parle-
 “ ment, or councill of state, as either exigencies, neces-
 “ sities, convenience, or advantages shall require ; and are
 “ from time to time to give full and frequent notice of your
 “ proceedings to the parlement, or councill of state esta-
 “ blished by their authority.

WESTMINSTER,
 21. Oct. 1653.

“ H E N. S C O B L E, clerke of the
 “ parlement.”

Of the first four months of Whitelocke’s allowance, 4000 l. was received by him ; and 1500 l. of it, besides the other monies, was layd out in provisions and advance-monies ; the remaining 2000 l. for the first six months was ordered by the councill to be payd, 1000 l. of it att six weeks, and the other 1000 l. att six weeks after that ; and that the time of his monthly allowance was to begin from the day he was approved of by the parlement for that service. Of the remaining money in his hand of his allowance, being 2500 l. he changed 300 l. into gold, the rest into our halfe-crown pieces

1653. pieces of silver, which are current in Sweden and Germany ;
 and these he carried with him in an iron trunke.

Oct. 29.

In the evening, Whitelocke attended the councell, to take his leave of them, and to know what further service they had to commaund him : the parlement called him in, without attendance of a quarter of an hour ; on the councell he waited an hour before he was admitted ; being come in, the then president, Mr. Strickland, bid him sitt downe, in a chayre sett for him ; and when Whitelocke had told them the occasion of his coming, the president gravely said to him,

“ My Lord Ambassador,

“ I am commaunded by the councell to deliver to you
 “ your private instructions ; and to tell you, that the coun-
 “ cell hath very much confidence of your fidelity and ability
 “ for this service, and do hope that God will give you a
 “ blessing to it : they wish you a very happy and prosperous
 “ journey, and desire to heare from you as often as you
 “ can.”

He delivered the instructions to Whitelocke, who, with usuall ceremonies, took his leave : the private instructions were in two papers ; the first paper was this.

“ Instructions for Bullstrode Whitelocke, constable, &c.
 “ ambassador extraordinary, &c.”

“ Your negotiation being to the queen of Sweden ; when
 “ you have delivered your credentialls to her, and made
 “ your generall propositions contained in your instructions
 “ from the parlement, and find that there is a good recep-
 “ tion

“ tion thereof, and a propensity in that queen to enter 1653.
 “ into an alliance with this common-wealth: Oct. 29.

“ 1. You shall for the matter of that alliance propose the
 “ articles heerwith delivered to you, either together, or att
 “ severall times, as you shall find it most convenient ; and
 “ you have heerby power to alter, amplify, adde unto
 “ and amend the same, or any of them, holding to the
 “ substance of them as you in your judgment shall find
 “ best, and as you can agree them, for the service of the
 “ common-wealth.

“ 2. If any particular shall be propounded unto you on
 “ the part of the said queen and crown, for the compleat-
 “ ing of this alliance, you are heerby authoris'd to treat
 “ and debate theruppon ; as also uppon any the articles of
 “ former treatyes that have bin between the two nations,
 “ and to conclude the same ; provided they be within the
 “ articles heerwith delivered to you : if you shall judge them
 “ otherwise ; then to transmit them to the councill, for
 “ the parlement's or councill's further direction in these
 “ particulars.

“ 3. You are to lett that queen know, that you are come
 “ qualified with powers to communicate with her majesty,
 “ by what wayes and means to open a free trade through
 “ the Sound ; that it may not depend uppon the will of the
 “ king of Denmarke, or the united provinces of the
 “ Netherlands, when they shall thinke fitt (as now they
 “ have done) to obstruct it.

“ 4. If you shall find, uppon a generall deliberation
 “ with the queen concerning the ground and the impor-
 “ tance thereof to both states, that she is sensible of the op-
 “ pressions

1653. “ preffions and restraint which is putt uppon trade there,
 Oct. 29. “ and that she is inclinable to joine with the parlement for
 “ removing the same ; you are to lett her knowe, that the
 “ parlement is willing to send into those seas, in fit and con-
 “ venient time, a fleet so considerable, that may be able,
 “ through God’s blessing, to defend itselfe against the con-
 “ trary party, who, no question, will joine their strength
 “ for the prosecution of their intentions. And theruppon
 “ are desirous to know what assistance Sweden will con-
 “ tribute for the countenance and carrying on of the under-
 “ taking, so just in itselfe, and so advantageous to both
 “ nations. And in case the queen shall discend to particu-
 “ lars, and make propositions accordingly ; you are to trans-
 “ mitt them to the councill, for the parlement’s or coun-
 “ cell’s further direction.

“ 5. Your lordship is to take care (especially whilst the
 “ treaty is on foot) that nothing be permitted or done di-
 “ rectly or indirectly, so farre as shall lye in your power
 “ to hinder, in favour or assistance of Charles Stuart, or
 “ his party, or abettors.

“ Given att Whitehall, the 28th of October, 1653.

“ Signed in the name and by order of the
 “ councill of state.

WAL. STRICKLAND, president.”

The articles mentioned in these instructions were, in
 substance, the same with those which were afterwards con-
 cluded by Whitelocke in his treaty ; saving such alterations
 and amendments as he judged fitt then to consent unto ;

“ and

and which were att his comming home, uppon a strict examination, and comparing of them with his instructions, approved, and fully ratified by the protector and his counsell. 1653.
Oct. 29.

The other paper of private instructions delivered to Whitelocke was this:

“ Lord ambaffador, his private instructions concerning
“ gunnes.

“ Instructions for Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable, &c.
“ ambaffador, &c.

“ For as much as it is conceived requisite, that a quantity of gunnes heerafter mentioned, or so many of them
“ as can be had, should be speedily procured in Sweden,
“ for the service of this common-wealth, viz.

“ 50 cannon, carrying 28 lb. bullet.

“ 100 pieces, carrying 36 lb. bullet.

“ 200 pieces, carrying 24 lb. bullet.

“ 200 pieces, carrying 12 lb. bullet.

“ All of them to be either brasse or copper, and well fortified; or so many whole culverings, or demiculverings,
“ as may make up the said number.

“ You are, therefore, after your arrivall in Sweden, to
“ imploy such trusty person, as you shall thinke fitt, to
“ informe himselfe in the most convenient way, what
“ quantities of brasse or copper gunnes, of the respective
“ dimentions above mentioned, may be there procured,
“ and within what time, and att what rates; and to con-

1653. " tract for, and buy, so many of the said number as he
 " can, att the best rates; and the same to ship and send for
 Oct. 29. " London with the first opportunity; and as many as can
 " be speedily had, by the ships which attend you thither;
 " charging bills of exchange on the commissioners of the
 " customs, or treasurer of the navy, for payment of the
 " monies due on such contracts, within convenient time:
 " which bills are to be accordingly paid, comming accom-
 " panyed with your advise and approbation. And for the
 " better mannaging heerof in point of privacy, and other
 " advantages, you are to give the party, so to be employed,
 " such instructions as you shall, uppon the place, find most
 " conducing to the said service. Given att Whitehall, the
 " 28th of October 1653.

" Signed in the name, and by order of
 " councill of state.

" WAL. STRICKLAND, presid^t."

Whitelocke's returning home with these instruments, and papers, caused much trouble and passion, att the hastning of him away from his sad wife and family, and from his countrey.

30. *The Lord's day.* Whitelocke was att the morning service in the Temple church, where he tooke leave of his friends; he dined att the Cockpitt att the generall's, who treated him with much outward kindnes and civility: he was cheerful att dinner, and, afterwards tooke Whitelocke into a private roome, where they talked above an hour together; part of their discourse was this.

Wh.

Wh. My lord, I am to take my leave of your excellence, 1653.
and probably my last leave; butt while God shall afford ^{Oct. 30.}
me life, I assure your excellence, I shall be diligent and
faithfull in the trust reposed in me.

Crom. My lord, if we had had the least suspicion of your
fidelity, you had not bin troubled with this imployment;
but we have had sufficient experience therof, and of your
diligence, and abilities: and I doubt not, butt God will
blesse you, and give you a safe and honourable returne to
your native countrey; which I heartily wish, and pray for;
indeed I doe.

Wh. I doubt not of your excellence's good wishes, uppon
whose account chiefly I have undertaken this service; and
I assure myselfe of the favour and assistance of your excel-
lence, in any thing that may concerne me in my absence;
wherin I have two or three humble requests to you.

Crom. You shall find me what I have said, a faithfull,
and affectionate friend to you, both present and absent.
I pray, lett me knowe, what you would particularly leave
to my care, and I promise you, I shall not fayle you in any
thing of concernment to you.

Wh. One of my suits is, that if, in my absence, my wife,
or friends, shall have occasion to attend your excellence
on my behalfe, that they may have the favour of accessse to
you, and your excellence's assistance.

Crom. They shall, att any time, be wellcome to me;
and I shall give order for their admittance, and my best
furtherance in any matter which shall concerne you.

1653. *Wh.* I humbly thanke your excellence; and doe further
 Oct. 30. intreate, that my bills of exchange uppon the councell
 may be answered, and not delayed: your servant's credit
 will depend uppon it, and a fayler therin, especially in a
 forrein country, is a tender thing.

Crom. I confesse that is a tender point; and you may be
 confident, you shall not be fayled nor delayed therin;
 our credit would be wounded therby. I will take particu-
 lar care for answearing your bills speedily; nay, I will say
 more to you, I know your allowance is butt smalle, I wish
 it had bin more, yett, if I live, I will see that you shall be
 no looser by this imployment; and though your occasions
 shall require the expence of more then your allowance, I
 will see that it shall be paid: butt I would have you to be
 as good a husband as you can.

Wh. I shall not spend extravagantly, butt the honor of
 the commonwealth, and safety of your servant, requiring
 it; which I doubt my allowance will not answer.

Crom. I will see you shall be no looser; butt honorably
 recompenced for your service.

Wh. I most humbly thanke your excellence, and shall
 depend uppon your honor; and further intreate, that a
 constant intelligence may be given me of your affayres heer,
 wherby I may be inabled to give a full and clear account
 therof, and have the more repute abroad by it: and your
 excellence knowes, that full and frequent intelligence
 gives live to state affayres, especially forrein.

Crom. It is necessary your lordship should have a con-
 stant correspondence and intelligence from hence kept with
 you,

you, and, for that end, your friend Mr. Thurloe, who is 1653.
an able and carefull man, shall not fayle you.

Oct. 30.

Wh. I shall be very glad of his correspondence ; and since your excellence allowes me this liberty, give me leave to intreate your opinion in some particulars of my instructions. If I find the queen willing to joyne with you, for the gaining of the Sundt, and against the Dutch and Danes, and that heartily and hopefully ; shall I putt on that buisnes to the utmost, and are you willing to enter into such a conjunction ?

Crom. If you find them inclinable to it, putt it on as farre as you can, and lett us heare from you, what you judge best to be done in it. No buisnes can be of greater consequence to us, and our trade, wherein the Dutch will endeavour to over-reache us ; and it were good to prevent them, and the Dane, and first to serve our own interest.

Wh. I shall give your excellence a clear account of it ; and I believe it will bring the Dutch to reason as soon as any thing ; and that your excellence will not much depend uppon them, or the Dane, butt where their own interest will be served.

Crom. We shall freely leave that, and the whole buisnes, to your care and prudent mannaging.

Wh. I shall doe the uttmost in my capacity to serve you ; butt must expect to have my actions traduced, and scandalized : butt I hope your excellence will give no credit to whisperings, or officious words, or letters of pickthanks, behind my backe.

Crom.

1653. *Crom.* I shall not easily give beliefe to such backbiters, I
 Oct. 30. hate them; and what I shall be informed of your actions
 abroad will hardly create in me an ill opinion of them,
 before I be certified from yourselfe.

Wh. It may be your excellence will heare, that I am
 great with some cavaliers when I am abroad, and that I
 make much of them; and truely that may well be, I love
 a civility to all, especially to persons of condition, though
 ennemies; and have ever used it, and perhaps may use it
 more then ordinary when I am abroad; and to those of
 the king's party, and by them I may be the better inabled to
 secure myselfe, and to understand their designs, which
 will be no disadvantage to your affayres: nor shall I ever
 betray those, or any persons by whom I am trusted.

Crom. I thinke such a carriage towards them will be pru-
 dent, and fitt for you to use; and it will never occasion in
 me, nor I hope in any other sober men, the least jealousy
 of your faithfullness; butt it may much tend to your secu-
 rity, and to the good of your buisnes.

Wh. I have butt one thing more to trouble your excel-
 lence with; that is, my humble thanks for all your favours,
 and, particularly, for the noble present I received from
 your hand.

Crom. I pray, my lord, doe not speake of so poore a
 thing; if there were opportunity for me to doe honor to
 your lordship, I assure you, that very few should goe before
 you.

Their discourse ended, being told that they were ready
 to goe to the sermon; after which, Whitelocke tooke his
 leave

leave of Cromwell, who, with all ceremony and complement, parted with him, as also did the rest of the officers then with him, and all of his family and company. 1653. Oct. 31.

Whitelocke came home late; and found his wife and friends full of sadness and trouble at the thoughts of his speedy departure from them.

The councell, upon Whitelocke's desire, ordered a motion to be made to the parlement, that Mr. Hagget might, by them, be appointed to serve as deputy recorder for Whitelocke at Bristol, in his absence; which the house ordered accordingly.

The councell also ordered, the master of the state's barges to provide barges for Whitelocke and his company, to transport them to Gravesend.

Whitelocke visited Lagerfeldt to take his leave of him, and found him in much passion, that he could not gett his dispatch; earnestly labouring to be gone before Whitelocke, and that he might be with the queen before Whitelocke's coming to her majesty. Whitelocke also visited Bonnele, to take his leave of him: and amongst other discourse gott from Bonnele, a character of most of the grandees, and persons in favour in the queen of Sweden's court; and how they stood affected to this common-wealth, and what were the most probable means and ways, and who were the most likely persons, by whom Whitelocke might bring his business to a happy and desired issue.



NOVEMBER.

1653.
Novemb.
1.

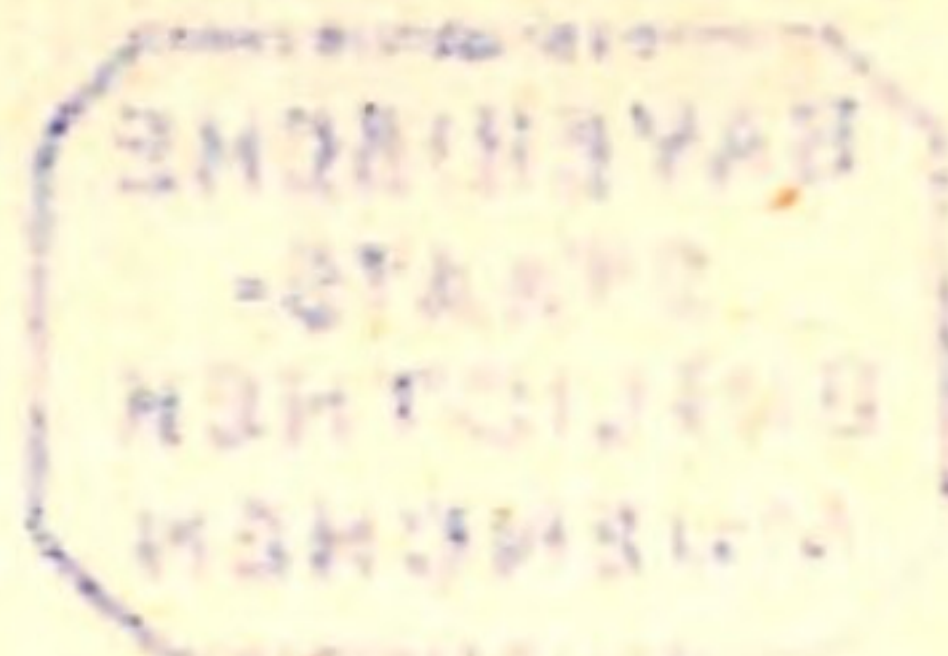
THE councell sent to Whitelocke to hasten him away. He had much trouble about the two hired ships, the Fortune, and the Adventure, which could not be gott ready to fall downe to the frigotts: the provisions and baggage was putt on board the Fortune neer Blackewall; the hay and oates was on board the Adventure att Gravesend, whither Whitelocke had sent his coach and horses before.

2. Most of Whitelocke's trunks and followers went downe this day to the Hope, where his ships lay, and his goods were on board them, only the Fortune was not yett fallen downe; of which he had an account by letters from his steward; and had the lesse trouble in these matters, which he referred to his officers; and they were the more carefull, bicause he tooke a constant account of their actions.

3. All things now being in a readines, Whitelocke's servants and goods on board the ships, and his going urged by the councell, he must take his leave (and as most judged it, his last leave) of his dearest relations.

His tender and loving wife trembles att the thoughts of it; his sweet and deare children hang uppon him, pray him not to goe from them, joyne in tears with their disconsolate mother; and some of them motherlesse before, are frighted with an apprehension that they are shortly to become fatherlesse also. All of them, chiefly those of more years, sufficiently sensible of their expected misery.

Two



Two of them, his eldest sons, he taketh with him; ten more, and most of them little ones, are left behind, adding tears and griefe to their comfortless mother; between whom, and her perplexed husband, some of their parting broken discourse is remembered.

Wife. My dearest love, I would faine speake to you, butt tears will not suffer me; lett them speake for me, and tell you, you ought not to leave me: for, if I cannot, yett, how, because, then, if you will, how can your heart butt be melted towards me and these poore children?

Wh. I prithee take more commaund over thy passion; our present friends, as well as ourselves, will be troubled att it, and it can doe neither thee nor me, nor our children good.

Wife. No, that's my misery; I can doe no good by it, yett what I say, if I could prevayle with you, would be, I thinke, I hope, the greatest good that this world can afforde us; to me I am sure it would be so.

Wh. Consider what is best for us all, and lett not passions have too much power over us. God knowes I leave thee with as sad a heart as ever husband parted with, from a most loving wife.

Wife. O then, why will you goe? lett me conjure you, by all my tears, by all loves, by the pledges of them, by marryage promises and affections, not to leave me, especially att this time, when the pangs of travayle are coming uppon me: alas, what is it I desire, butt a little time and strength to inable me to beare you company, and in daunger to take part with you!

1653. *Wh.* I am neither in a capacity to stay, nor you to goe:
 Nov. 3. you know the necessity on me; I must goe, and goe presently.

Wife. Oh, my deare, you must not goe, you ought not to goe presently, and leave me in this condition: if I were able, I would freely goe with you; butt to goe without me, now, when, can you be forced to it? How have I offended you? How have these poor children displeased you? Can you find in your heart to leave us, and cast us off to misery? I beg of you not to doe it, sure, I hope, you will not do it.

Wh. Thou knowest my ingagement to goe, and wert privy and consenting to it; and it was your good moved me to it; and were it not too late, I could freely retire, and satisfy thy earnest request heerin.

Wife. This request can never be too late; our children's good, my life, your own life, is concerned, that you should not goe; and lett me prevayle with you not to leave us.

Wh. If I goe, I confess my life is in daunger; if now I doe not goe, my life (it may be) is in more daunger: those who have engaged me will not be baffled by me; they have the power, lett us have the prudence and temper to submit to that which we cannot well avoyde, and which, probably, will be most for all our good.

Wife. I can say no more; butt if it be too late, if you must goe, though I cannot goe with you, yett my prayers shall goe with you, that the Lord may preserve you, and bring you back agayne in safety: and when you shall returne (as I hope you will) if you find me gone, gone out
 of

of this vale of tears and sorrow, yett remember me as a faithfull wife, as one that truely loved you and yours; and remember these little ones; be kind to them for my sake, and for their own sakes, who, I hope, will never offend you, nor be undutiful to you: this is my last request, and I hope will be graunted by you.

1653.

Nov. 3.

Wh. These are piercing words, and enough (if it could be) to make me alter my resolution; butt it is too late, and God is all sufficient: I doubt not butt he will preserve me in my journey, and bring me backe agayne in safety, to a joyfull and comfortable meeting with thee and all my children.

Wife. The Lord, if it be his blessed will, graunt us this mercy, who is indeed all-sufficient, and abounding in goodness; butt we deserve it not; and it must be more than ordinary mercy, if we ever see the faces of each other agayne.

With that word, flouds of teares stopped her further speaking; and the company called uppon Whitelocke to hasten away, telling him, the wind and tide would stay for no man, butt would be lost, if he did not speedily come away; that all was ready; and they now only stayed for him: he was therfore forced to breake away.

He went to the Tower wharfe, where the states barges attend him, multitudes of people crowding about him; he enters the barge of ten oares; with him were major generall Reynolds and some other officers of the army, his brothers-in-law, his sons, and some of his gentlemen; the rest were in four other barges provided for them.

When

1653. When he putt off from shoare, the Tower saluted him
 Nov. 3. with eleven pieces of ordinance; as he passed by the ships
 of warre in the river, they gave him the like respect of
 their great gunnes; so did the fort at the Hope.

He went directly to the Phoenix frigott riding in that
 road, whose captain Foster received him with as much
 honor as he could expresse; his pennons all hung out, his
 waftclothes to the cabbin doore, and he fired twenty-one
 gunnes for his welcome: his men were in good order, and
 seemed stout and able marriners; the captain and officers
 not inferiour to any of the sea commaunders; the ship as
 well built and fitted for sayling and fight as any in the fleet:
 heer were fourteen cabbins for his company, of whom he
 left some in her to prepare against his returne to them.

From thence he visited the Elizabeth frigott, whose cap-
 tain Minnes wellcomed him with his gunnes, and all en-
 signes of respect as Foster did, and sett out thirteen cabbins
 for his gentlemen: heer also Whitelocke left some of his
 company, and in his returne to Gravesend, the marriners
 of the Elizabeth gave a great shoute, and were answered by
 those of the Phoenix, to testify their being pleased with the
 ambaffador's being on board of them, and with the voyage.

In his way, the men of warre saluted him with their
 gunnes; and particularly and unexpectedly a Holland
 frigott, which lately brought over their ambaffador, and
 now wore her white flagge (though both common-wealths
 were now in actuall warre) yett she saluted Whitelocke with
 three gunnes as he passed by her.

Berkman met him att Gravesend, so did most of his com-
 pany; where he caused the best provisions that could be had

to be made for them; himfelfe lay at a private houfe, Mr. 1653.
Woodcoke's, who civilly treated him.

Nov. 3.

Two of Whitelocke's fhips not being yett fallen downe,
after he had given out his orders for all things to be ready, he
returned backe to London, and had a darke and daungerous
paffage; butt God preferved him: he came about eight
a'clocke att night to his brother Willfon's houfe, to fee his
fad wife once more, and to comfort her, who was much fur-
prised and pleased with his unexpected comming, and kind-
nes, to ftay with her rather than att Gravesend, till the wind
fhould be fayre, and all his fhips be ready.

4.

He kept his returne as private as he could, that the coun-
cell might not have notice of it: yett now he mett with ob-
jections from fome, that he ought not to leave his country
and relations to goe into the northern parts of Europe in
the midft of winter, to putt to fea in the middeft of ftormes
and ennemies; to forfake thefe deareft relations and fixed
comforts; to paffe over the raging billows of the rough nor-
therne and eafterne feas; to tranfport his aged fickly body
eight degrees to the northward of the place of his birth and
habitation, about affayres made up of difficulty and in-
certainty.

Butt moft of thefe objections had bin more feafonably
made, and answered formerly: he was now ingaged, and
told by no meane perfons, that the peace with the Dutch,
the fafety of the common-wealth, the good of the protestant
interest, depends uppon his going.

Cromwell, who commaunds in chiefe, earnestly intreats
(that is, requires) his speedy departure; the councell urge
it, and alledge that the publique interest and affayres will

not

1653. not dispence with his longer stay; he had taken possession
 Nov. 4. of his ships, made all his preparations and provisions, and
 now to object against his going, was somewhat too late: yett
 this short time of his present stay, he enjoyes the best of
 society, with his wife and children and nearest of his
 friends and relations.

His wife was now in lesse passion then before, hoping that
 God would be pleased to make her husband instrumentall
 to advance his honor, for which, she and his friends putt up
 their hearty and constant prayers to the Almighty; and then
 they acknowledged that they should rejoyce in his journey,
 and not doubt butt that God would restore him to all these
 relations and comforts, with the addition of the fullfilling
 his gracious promises to those that desire to serve him.

5. Whitelocke heard that the Fortune was fallen downe, and
 now the wind was come fayre for his voyage; therefore he
 must agayne leave his deare wife and relations: and al-
 though she restrained her passion as much as possibly she
 could, yett no creature ever showed a more perplexed
 grieved condition than she did att parting with him; when
 some of their discourse was this.

Wife. I have one thing more earnestly to beg of you,
 which is, that you would make it your chiefeft care, to honor
 God in all your actions; and to watch over yourselfe and
 all your company, that none of you dishonor him; and
 often pray to him for his blessing uppon you and them, and
 on us whom you leave behind; which will be the best way
 to inlarge our hopes of a happy meeting agayne, which I
 shall dayly pray for.

Wh. I

Wh. I looke uppon this as my duety, and thanke you 1653.
for putting me in mind of it. I hope I shall not be want-
ing in my prayers to God, for his protection and blessing, Nov. 5.
both on you that stay, and on us that travayle; and that
he will not give us over to dishonor him, which I shall be
most carefull to prevent, both in myselfe and in every one
of my company; and I presume you are assured that had it
not bin the hopes of doing some honor to the name of God
by this my undertaking and hazard, I should scarce have
bin perswaded to have undergone it.

Wife. I know, and am glad that this was the chiefe motive
that perswaded you to it, and which prevayled with me, for
giving such consent as I did therunto; and by this we both
may have the more peace and satisfaction in our own hearts,
and the more hopes of the blessing of God uppon it. I shall
speake butt this more, and I pray God that it be not my
last word to you; that for my sake, and for our poor chil-
drens sake, you would have a speciall care of your own
health, and not to hazard your person in any daunger.

Wh. My owne conscience and duety to you and my
children, and to my buisnes, ingageth me to this care; and
I shall promise thee to take speciall care of my health, and
not to hazard my person unnecessarily: and I pray God to
keep you and all our children, and to blesse you, and to
give us in his due time a meeting agayne with comfort and
safety.

Wife. The Lord graunt it, if it be his blessed will, and
goe along with you in all your way.

Then tears agayne concluded their discourse; her sighing,
weeping, trembling, shrieking, were testimonies of her sad
Vol. I. O troubled

1653. troubled mind ; nor was her husband without his share of
 Nov. 5. much anxiety : butt they must part.

In his passage by water, his secretary Earle only attended him ; he overtook the Fortune, and himselfe gave her charge to hasten to the Hope, which she did accordingly.

He came to Gravesend about three a'clocke in the afternoone, and finding his horses not shipped, though it were so late ; and the master of the Adventure not willing to take the horses on board that night ; yett because the wind was fayre, and not high, Whitelocke ordered all his horses to be shipped that evening, which he saw done, above thirty horses hoyfed on board in lesse than four howres time, though most of them were stoned horses, and very unquiet : the gentleman of his horse tooke great paynes and care in the doing of it.

6. *The Lord's Day.* The wind was fayre, and all things ready, and no opportunity must be lost ; therefore, about two howers before high water, Whitelocke ordered all his people to goe on board : a light-horse-man, and some with him in the ship boate, they went directly to the Hope, where the ships attending his coming were,

1. The Phoenix frigott, a man of war, carrying forty-four gunnes, one of the best ships for sayling and for fighting in Europe ; in her were two hundred seamen well chosen, and well commaunded ; in her went Whitelocke and his sons, his chapleins, Dr. Whistler, and most of the gentlemen, and the women.

2. The Elizabeth frigott, with forty gunnes, store of ammunition, two hundred marriners ; and in her went more of the gentlemen.

3. The Adventure, a merchantman, hyred and fitted 1653.
as a stable for Whitelocke's horses, which were in her, with
provisions for them; the yeoman of the stable, the coach-
men, postillions, groomes, lacquays, and others, were on
board of her. Nov. 6.

4. The Fortune, a merchantman, hyred; she carryed
the baggage and provisions; and in her went his steward,
and some gentlemen, those of the kitchen, buttery, and
and other inferior servants.

5. A stout private man of warre, commaunded by captain
Welch, a bold fighting seaman; he had eighty men of his
own temper, about tenn great gunnes, and sufficient store
of smalle shott, and of armes and weapons on board her.

6. A catch of the states, appointed to waite on White-
locke, and to be in readines to carry intelligence, or doe
other service as he should commaund her.

As soon as Whitelocke came on board the Phoenix, he
desired captain Foster to send for the captains and officers
of the other ships to come on board him; and they being
come, Whitelocke spake to them on the deckes, to this
effect.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It hath pleased God to bring us together att this time,
“ in order to a voyage to the north; and the councell of
“ state have thought fitt to intrust me with the commaund
“ of these ships, and consequently of you and your men
“ under you, as I suppose you understand by the orders of
“ your generalls att sea; and I take the liberty to tell you,

1653. " that I expect the same obedience to my orders, as if your
 Nov. 6. " generalls gave them : but withall, I shall lett you know,
 " that my commaunds will not be rigid or supercilious, butt
 " with love and kindness, as to my countrymen, friends,
 " and fellow seamen.

" I confesse my want of knowledge in sea affayres ; yett
 " this is not my first voyage ; and I shall be glad to have
 " my lacke of experience supplied by yours, and be will-
 " ing to be informed by the meanest marriner ; and shall
 " give a due regard to the advice of you who are the officers,
 " and of so much ability and experience as you are, and
 " whose reason may satisfy mine in our debates and coun-
 " fells.

" Our voyage (my noble countrymen) is not like to be
 " without daungers ; I hope your spirits will be the more
 " rayfed : the perils of this season, of storms and tempests,
 " are no strangers to you ; no more are those of our enne-
 " mies, the Dutch and Danes, whom you have mett with
 " before this time, and were wont to wish to see them. I
 " assure myselfe they are now more desired than feared by
 " you.

" I shall freely adventure my life with you ; and if we
 " looke up to God, pray for his protection and blessing,
 " and trust in him, willing chearfully to serve our countrey,
 " we shall have no cause to feare our ennemies, or to doubt,
 " butt that God will goe along with us, and blesse us in
 " our way ; and bring us back agayne in safety to our na-
 " tive countrey and relations.

" I shall from time to time acquaint you with my orders,
 " by captain Foster ; from whom, I pray you to receive
 " them,

“ them, and to observe them ; and so, my countrey-men, 1653.
“ God send us a good voyage.”

Nov. 6.

The seamen cast up their caps and shouted, and seemed well pleased.

Then Whitelocke ledde the officers into his cabbin, and advised with them as a councill of warre about the voyage ; and the wind being then fayre, west and by north, they agreed, that it was fitt to weigh anchor and to sett sayle presently : and Whitelocke ordered the same to be done accordingly.

Uppon advice, he likewise ordered the Phoenix to carry her flagge in the main top, after the order of the sea, Whitelocke being on board her, an ambassador extraordinary, and commaunder in chiefe of the ships with him.

He also ordered their sayling to be in this manner : the Phoenix to be in the vanne, the Adventure and Fortune after her, the Elizabeth in the reare, captain Welch on the one flanke, and the Catch on the other, to scout out, and to discover ennemies ; and they and the Elizabeth to keep in the merchantmen (who were slowe saylers, and apt to lagge) within their company.

Other orders he gave about their firing, anchoring, weighing, sayling, and the like ; that the Phoenix should carry the lanthorne ; that every morning each ship should come up to Whitelocke, that he might be informed of their condition, and then to fall into their order againe ; and he appointed his captain Foster to receive all orders from Whitelocke, and to give them to the rest of the officers of the fleet.

He

1653. He ordered prayers to be constantly twice a-day, morn-
 ~~~~~ ing and evening, uppon the deckes in fayre weather, other  
 Nov. 6. times in the steerage roome. He ordered none to take  
 tobacco butt behind the maine mast, where a tubbe of  
 water was sett to blow their coales into it, and to prevent  
 the daunger of fire; divers other orders he made for regu-  
 lating the seamen and his company.

The wind being fayre, and a fresh gayle, and all the  
 ships having weighed anchor, they hoyed sayle, and com-  
 mitted themselves to the protection of him who commaunds  
 the waves, and affords his preservation there, as well as on  
 drye land, to them that trust in him.

By the evening they had sayled as farre as the Boay in  
 the Nowre, in the Thames-mouth; which is placed there  
 to give warning to ships to avoyde the Nowre sands; and,  
 is of late, the more taken notice of, by that sharpe sea-  
 fight between the English and Dutch in this place, where  
 the gallant sea commander, Deane, with many other  
 brave Englishmen, lost their lives in defence of their  
 countrey.

It is in the sight of Queenborough-castle, in the Isle of  
 Shepey, so called from the abundance of sheep fedde there.  
 The castle was built by E. 3. (as he writes in his patent)  
 "to the terror of his ennemyes, and solace of his friends;"  
 unto which castle he adjoyned a towne or borough, and,  
 in honor of his queen, called it Queenborough.

After the evening sermon, the wind, which had bin ver-  
 fayre all that day, chopt about to the north, and was  
 quite contrary to his course; so that Whitelocke caused  
 them there to lett fall their anchors.

Att



Att the Boay in the Nowre, God was pleased to com-  
maund Whitelocke's stay, to make him pertaker of a greater  
mercy, the earlier notice of his wife's being brought to-  
bed; who, the same day that her husband sett sayle to goe  
from her, was delivered of a son: a hard time to be hur-  
ryed away from her!

1653.

Nov. 7.

Her friends, with her, presently procured two bold  
watermen to undertake to carry letters of this good news  
to Whitelocke, hoping to overtake him; they rowed all  
night by the shoares side, till they came over against the  
ships; butt by reason of the largenes, and roughnes of the  
water, could not come to them with their wherry; there-  
fore, the watermen made fires on the shoare, the custome  
of giving notice that an expresse was come: the marryners,  
used to such fires, sent out a boate, and fetched the water-  
men on board the Phoenix. Some of the gentlemen hearing  
the good newes, knocked hastily att Whitelocke's cabbin  
doore, caused him to awake with some doubt, least any  
thing might be amisse; and, agayne, with a hope, that an  
expresse might be come to stay his voyage for a time, that  
he might see his wife and friends agayne by this opportu-  
nity: butt the letters were from his brother Willson and  
Mr. Cokaine; and, in them, the good newes of his wife's  
safe delivery of a son did exceedingly comfort him, and  
caused him to consider, and thankfully acknowledge the  
circumstances of this mercy and providence.

1. That God was not pleased to permit him to be with  
his wife when she was in extreamity, which was so much  
desired; and yett was pleased to give her a safe delivery,  
to show that God is better then all relations, and only to  
be depended on, as a ready help in time of trouble.

2. As



1653. 2. As his letters informed, that his wife was brought  
 Nov. 7. to-bed the very hower when the congregation, of which she  
 was a member, were in prayer together for her safe deli-  
 very; and then this gracious returne of their prayers was  
 vouchsafed.

3. That God was pleased to cause the wind suddainly to  
 change, whereby Whitelocke was inforced to stay his  
 course that night, otherwise he had gone too farre for the  
 watermen to have come att him with the letters.

4. That if he had not bin stayed heer, and by that means  
 received these letters now, he could not, in ordinary course,  
 have heard the newes in a moneth after; butt, by this stay,  
 this comfortable newes was received by them, and it made  
 their voyage much the more cheerfull.

5. That as soon as Whitelocke had written answears to  
 these letters, and dispatched and rewarded the watermen,  
 the wind instantly came about againe very fayre to proceed  
 in his voyage.

Wheruppon Whitelocke commaunded to fire a gunne for  
 warning to weigh anchor, which was done by day-breake;  
 and the wind continuing fayre, Whitelocke had a good  
 course, and ran this day about twenty-five leagues; so that  
 they bid adieu to the coast of England, their most deare  
 and native countrey.

8. In the night, the frigotts were faine to towe the baggage  
 ships, whose slowe sayling much hindered the voyage. The  
 wind blew high, and the night was very tempestuous; yett  
 Whitelocke slept foundly, till about midnight, by the break-  
 ing in funder of the great cable by which his ship towed  
 the



the Adventure, so terrible a cracke and noise was made, 1653.  
that it awakened all that were asleepe with affrightment, and Nov. 8.  
indaungered the ship.

She carryed two lanthornes, for better direction of the rest of the ships, who rolled and tossed very much all night, and were in great daunger. The Fortune proved very slowe and troublesome; the Elizabeth, att this time, was not well fitted, nor fleet in sayling. Whitelocke stayed for them, lowering his sayles, and judged it no time for his ships to sever neer an ennemies coast, and in the midst of stormes; butt ordered all to keep neer together, and be in readines to relieve one another: and notwithstanding the hinderances, and fowle weather, they ran a course this night of about thirty leagues.

By sun-rising, they espyed some sayles a farre off, on head of them; Whitelocke spreadde all his sayles to fetch them up; the Phoenix ran with an incredible fleetnes: the strange ships made away from him, Whitelocke pursued, and when he came within distance, fired the chase pieces att them, to warne them to strike sayle. One strucke, and came to leeward of Whitelocke; and the wind driving him to sterne, whilest Whitelocke's boate was hoyfing out to fetch the Dutch skipper on board to him, the Dutchman seeing his advantage, the wind for him, and Whitelocke's men buisy, he hoyfed all his sayles, and gott clear away from Whitelocke: att which affront captain Foster was very angry, and prayed leave to chase the Dutchman againe. Whitelocke gave way to fire some gunnes after him, butt to little purpose, he being gott so farre away; and before Whitelocke could tack about to pursue him, he would be gone too farre to be overtaken, without too much hinderance of his course: so Whitelocke wished his captain to be patient,



1653. and beare this smalle affront, which he could not helpe;  
Nov. 8. and to lett the Dutchman goe for his ingenuity, butt to prevent being served so againe.

The other Dutch ship made away as fast as she could; butt Whitelocke overtooke her, and made severall shots at her, yett she would not strike sayle, till Whitelocke shott through her tackle; seeing which torne, and that Whitelocke was in earnest, the Dutchman came to leeward and struck: and Whitelocke's lieutenant fetched the Dutch skipper on board to Whitelocke, in his cabbin, who there examined him; divers of the gentlemen and marriners crowding in to heare it, wherof this was part:

*Wh.* Skipper, whence art thou?

*Sk.* A Flushingier.

*Wh.* What brought you to sea this weather?

*Sk.* My trade; though the weather be fowle, we must fish, or our wives and children must starve.

*Wh.* Hast thou a wife and children?

*Sk.* I hope I have a wife and seven children.

*Wh.* What right have you to fish in these seas?

*Sk.* I thought any one might fish in the broade sea.

*Wh.* Not without leave of those who have the dominion of those seas.

*Sk.*



*Sk.* I know not who have the dominion of the sea, butt <sup>1653.</sup> they that have the best fleet. I have been thirty years a Nov. 8. fisherman, and never yett asked leave.

*Wh.* Indeed a good fleet is the best argument for the dominion of the seas; butt though you never asked leave to fish on the seas of our common-wealth, your predecessors have asked leave to fish heer.

*Sk.* My father and grandfather were fishers on these seas, butt I never heard them say they asked leave.

*Wh.* It may be so; butt others have.

*Sk.* I must not contradict you.

*Wh.* Thou maist freely speake to me.

*Sk.* No, I thanke you, I know to whom I speake.

*Wh.* Dost thou know me?

*Sk.* I thinke you are the English ambassador for Sweden.

*Wh.* Why dost thou thinke so?

*Sk.* Bicause you carry your flagge in the maine-top; and some of your men told me so.

*Wh.* What doe they say in your countrey of my going to Sweden?

*Sk.* Our lords don't like it; butt their subjects thinke you doe wisely to gett the Swedes for friends.



1653. *Wh.* We must seek new friends, when our old ones  
forfake us, and make warre upon us, as your lords doe.  
Nov. 8.

*Sk.* We poor men give our lords no thanks for it; I  
am sure we are sufferers by it.

*Wh.* Why then is it continued?

*Sk.* Bicause it is the pleasure of our lords; butt they are  
sufficiently curst for it.

*Wh.* God sayes, you must not speake evill of your rulers.

*Sk.* And God sayes, our rulers must not doe evill.

*Wh.* God will punish them if they doe evill.

*Sk.* And man will punish them also: I am sure you have  
done it.

*Wh.* And what did you, when you revolted from your  
king?

*Sk.* These things are too high for me; I will not speake  
of them.

*Wh.* What doe your people say of the English ambassa-  
dor, tell me truely?

*Sk.* They say, he is a very honest gentleman, and a fitt  
man for such a buisnes, and one that loves peace, and is  
likely to doe his worke.

*Wh.* Now I see you know to whome you speake.

*Sk.*



*Sk.* I should say the same behind your backe, for I have often heard it sayd by others.

1653.  
Nov. 8.

*Wh.* It seems then that your people are not pleased with the war against England.

*Sk.* They are much displeased att it, and their losses by it are very great, and our trade decayes; so that it will be the wisest way for our lords to make a peace with you: if they doe not, few will fight for them, in their ships, in this quarrell.

*Wh.* Hast thou served them in this warre?

*Sk.* I never fought against the English in this warre, nor never will; and more are of my mind.

*Wh.* Thou sayest honestly, and shalt fare the better.

*Sk.* We are neighbours, and both are now commonwealths, and we should sticke close to one another.

*Wh.* And we both professe one religion, doe we not?

*Sk.* There is much talke of your different religions in England.

*Wh.* You have as many different religions in Amsterdam.

*Sk.* As long as they will be quiet, I know no reason butt every one may worship God as he thinkes best for his own soule.

*Wh.*



1653. *Wh.* I thinke thou art very right ; and your countrey  
 Nov. 8. hath prosperd the better for giving this liberty.

*Sk.* I thinke God bleffes them for it ; and I think a peace with England would please God better, then this shedding of christian bloud.

*Wh.* Dost not thou say this to please me, or be thy neighbours of this opinion as thou art ?

*Sk.* I speake it not to please you ; and ten for one are of my opinion.

*Wh.* My masters have not bin backward for a peace with you.

*Sk.* Our lords understand not the buisnes so well as you.

*Wh.* Your lords are wise enough.

*Sk.* I am sure they are not wise in having this war with England.

*Wh.* What men of warre have you abroad this way, tell me freely ?

*Sk.* Our men of warre have suffered a huge losse, by the other dayes storme, which, I believe, you felt ; five of our ships were then cast away uppon our own shore.

*Wh.* That was a great losse ; butt prithee tell me what convoyes you have abroad this way ?

*Sk.*



*Sk.* Three or fower of our men of warre lye not farre of, 1653.  
which were sent out to guard us, and you see how well Nov. 8.  
they doe it.

*Wh.* Why doe they not keep neerer to you?

*Sk.* They have no great mind to come neer you, where they know they can gett nothing butt blowes.

*Wh.* Butt their duety and honor bind them to guard you.

*Sk.* Honor will buy no butter; and they hold it no duety of theirs to hazard themselves and their ships against you.

*Wh.* They cannot tell whither we will fight or not till they trye us.

*Sk.* They know your frigotts can fight; and you doe not looke as if you would runne away.

*Wh.* Dost thou know by our lookes that we will fight?

*Sk.* One may guesse; I am sure you know how to handle your gunnes, I have felt that.

*Wh.* Why then did you not come in sooner to me, butt stood out so many shotts?

*Sk.* Bicause I hoped to have gott away from you; and my ship was never before out-fayled.



1653. *Wh.* Then you judge my ship to be fleet.

Nov. 8.

*Sk.* She is the fleetest that I ever saw under-sayle. O she is a gallant vessell, so is your other frigott, and the rest are good ships.

*Wh.* I see you like well the make of our english frigotts.

*Sk.* For the buisnes of the war they are, without doubt, of the rarest mould that ever was built before.

*Wh.* I know they are not so good for your use of marchandize.

*Sk.* We must have them somewhat bigger bellyes than they carry.

*Wh.* Else they will carry butt a smalle quantity of goods.

*Sk.* I have few goods left me to carry, God help me.

*Wh.* Well, skipper, thou seemest to be an honest man, and to love the English, and thou sayest thou hast a wife and seven children; therefore, I shall doe more for thee than thou expectest: thou shalt have thy ship agayne.

*Sk.* What did you say, sir? shall I have my ship agayne?

*Wh.* Yes, skipper, thou shalt have thy ship agayne. Captain Foster, give order that the ship be restored to the poor man.

*Sk.* Sir, your men took a world of goods when they boarded me; if I might have them too.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Skipper, thou shalt have them too. Captain, I pray  
 see that your men restore both ship and goods, whatsoever  
 they have taken from this poor man. 1653.  
Nov. 8.

*Capt.* Your excellencies commaund shall be obeyed.

*Sk.* Shall I have my ship and all my goods agayne too?

*Wh.* I have past my word; and thou shalt have them all  
 agayne, thou maiest be sure of it.

*Sk.* Now the Lord blesse thy excellence; I and my wife  
 and children will pray for thee as long wee live. What!  
 have all againe, when I expected not a penny-worth of them;  
 there was never such an ambassador uppon these seas. Now,  
 I pray God blesse thee, and blesse thy wife and children, and  
 blesse the buisnes thou goest about!

Then the poor skipper, who was before in a great sweat  
 and fright, and tears trickling downe his cheekes, reaching  
 over the table, took Whitelocke by the hand, and shaked  
 it heartily, often praying to God to blesse him and his.  
 Whitelocke calling for wine, drank to the poore man to  
 comfort him, and spake to him thus.

“ *Wh.* Skipper, when thou comest home, remember my  
 “ service to your lords, and tell them what I say, that I  
 “ bid you tell them that the english ambassador came not  
 “ to pillage their subjects, butt showed kindness to you,  
 “ and caused your ship and all your goods to be restored  
 “ agayne to you, though he tooke them lawfull prize, and  
 “ you resisted him; and tell your lords from me, that I  
 “ hope they and their people will use my countrymen, when  
 “ any of them shall fall into their hands, as kindly as I  
 VOL. I. Q “ have



1653. “ have used thee ; and that I doe heartily wish there may  
 Nov. 8. “ be a good peace between the two common-wealths.”

“ Sk. My lord, If it please God I live and come well  
 “ home againe, as I hope in God I shall, I will goe to the  
 “ lords, and deliver your message to them, and lett them  
 “ fully know your goodnes to me ; and I shall acquaint  
 “ good store of my neighbours with your noble carryage  
 “ towards me : and I pray to God with all my heart to  
 “ blesse you, and to give you a safe and happy voyage.”

The Skipper went away a joyful man, and had his ship  
 and all his goods to a penny-worth restored to him, which  
 he said he wondered at, they having bin, as he called it,  
 in hucksters hands ; and in token of his thankfullness, he  
 sent back by Whitelocke's men a holland cheese and a great  
 bottle of brandy wine for a present to Whitelocke. Butt he  
 believing the poor man to have more need of it than himselve,  
 who was no lover either of that meat or drinke, Whitelocke  
 sent them back agayne, with his hearty thanks to the skip-  
 per for his love ; who (as Whitelocke was afterwards inform-  
 ed) did sufficiently publish the kindnes of the english am-  
 bassador to him, and that to as many of the lords as he could  
 speake with, as well as to his neighbours and countrey men ;  
 so that Monsieur Lagerfeldt passing that way by land home-  
 wards, was informed of it for newes, and asked Whitelocke  
 (when they mett) about it.

This was done by Whitelocke upon designe to create  
 the better opinion of him and his superiors, and the more  
 averſenes to the war in the inferiour sort of people of that  
 countrey, and to amuse the lords the more by this action  
 upon



uppon his going for Sweden ; and the passages are the more particularly remembered for the variety, and to shew the subtlety of these kind of people ; and that even from them (as from all sorts of men) somewhat as to these publique affayres may be learned, and use made thereof.

1653.  
Nov. 8.

Most of Whitelocke's men were very sea-sicke, only himselfe and three or fower more held well ; the Catch was lost, or ranne home for feare of the weather : the wind came into the north-east, so that Whitelocke could make no way in his course, but was forced to steere back towards the coast of England.

A great dutch ship (as they supposed) a man of warre, hovered within sight of Whitelocke this day ; butt when Whitelocke came towards her, she made away from him, and would by no meanes come nearer to him, having gott the advantage by the wind and distance to keepe off from him.

All the last night the sea continued extreame rough, and the weather full of raine and stormes, so that the ships (especially the merchantmen) were in great daunger of being founderd in the sea. 9.

The wind continued flatt and high against Whitelocke's course ; who theruppon in the morning consulted with the captaine, master, and pilotes of his ship what was best for them to doe.

The officers were all of the opinion, that there was great daunger of their being driven uppon the coast of Holland, where so lately they lost some of their owne men of warre, when the stormes were much like those wherin Whitelocke



1653. now was, and the wind in the same quarter; they were also  
 Nov. 9. of opinion, that the merchantmen of his fleet were in extreme daunger to be lost in these great stormes; and that (as the wind fate) it was impossible to hold on their course for Gothenbergh: upon these reasons, and by the advice of the officers and many of Whitelocke's people being extreame sick, he ordered to direct their course to Yermouth, or some port thereabouts in England, that, if possible, they might reach sight of the english coast before night; which they indeavoured, till about noone, then the wind weared about to west south west, whereupon they stood on agayne in their course for Gothenbergh.

Divers strange fishes showed themselves playing and tumbling in the waters; the fowle flew about disturbed with the stormes; the firmament powred downe water, and thicke clowdes darkened it. A great number of fishermen were abroad, very industrious, and gaining out of these seas a vast commodity and profit by their fishing.

They have smalle territories, little land of their own; yett, by their industry and navigation in trade, and fishing, they gaine vast treasures.

Cambden writing thereof, notes what an extraordinary plentifull, and gainfull herring fishing the Hollanders and Zealanders use to have in the neighbouring sea, having first obtained leave from the castle of Scarborough, according to the antient custome.

Then he blames his countrymen (not undeservedly) who ever grant leave to fish, butt through a kind of negligence, resigning the profit to strangers; for it is almost incredible (saith



(saith he) what a vast some of money the Hollanders make by fishing on our coasts.

1653.

Nov. 9.

Hitchcocke, in his booke presented to the parlement in queen Elizabeth's days, writes, that the Hollanders and Zealanders every year send forth 400 or 500 vessells, called Busses, to fish for herrings in this easterne sea.

Sir John Borroughs, in his treatise of the soveraignty of the British seas, computes the number of their ships and vessells imployed about the fishing trade, to be 6400; their marriners and fishermen hereckons to the number of 168,000; their publique revenue out of fishing, he accounts to neer a million yearly; and the private wealth gained by it, he estimates yearly to 10,000,000 of our pounds sterling out of their trade of fishing in our seas.

Whither his calculation be exact or not, will not be necessary to cast up. Doubtles the profit of this fishing trade, gained by these Netherlanders on the British seas, is very huge and vast; and it may not improperly be said of them, as is prophesied of the tribes of Zebulon and Issachar, in the blessing pronounced by Moses upon them, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 19. "They shall sucke of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sands."

These stormes drove the fishermen home agayne; nor would Whitelocke looke after them, nor neglect his course to follow them, butt tooke the best care he could for defence of his selfe, being now in the midst of ennemies, who would neglect no opportunity they could meet with to destroy him.

All



1653. All this day stood aloofe from him a great ship, making  
 Nov. 9. all the sayle she could to the windward of him, and (as Whitelocke's men supposed) she had other companions of the dutch convoyes not farre off from her; as they could discover by the perspective, she was the same ship they saw yesterday: but neither then nor now, in the day time, would come neer to Whitelocke, and he would not permit his ships to goe out of their due course to follow this Dutchman, who still kept the advantage of being to windward of Whitelocke, and so lay off still from him.

Whitelocke doubting least the designe of the Dutch men of warre now abroad for convoyes, (whereof he supposed this great ship to be one) might be in the night time to intercept one of his baggage ships; he renewed his orders, that the Adventure and Fortune should sayle in the lee or sterne of the Phoenix, and the Elizabeth and captain Welch to keepe in the sterne of the baggage ships, to be close together to relieve and assist one another as there should be occasion.

In this order they sayled in their course; butt the wind comming about more to the north, and being in the evening due west, and west north west, they had butt bare wind enough to hold on their course, butt they could not gaine or advance much way in it.

10. The wind continued all night full against Whitelocke's course; so that they toyled all the darke night in the rough seas and contrary winds, the ships rowling and tossing very much, and were in great daunger; yett could they not gayne any way att all in their intended course.

Towards



Towards breake of day the wind slackened; all the ships <sup>1653.</sup> were neer together, butt advanced little or nothing in their <sup>Nov. 10.</sup> course: the Dutch man of warre was gott quite off from them; the wind in twelve howres came about into almost all the points of the compasse; it continued most of all against them. Butt the day proved very fayre, more like the season of May than of November, and so little wind stirring, that the ships made no way at all, and the seas were as calme as att any time in summer, wherwithe the sick men were a little refreshed; butt payed for it agayne afterwards. Whitelocke in person visited and cheered the sicke men, and saw that they should want nothing wherwith the ship could supply them; and he caused his other ships to come up to him, that he might inquire of their wellfare; and spake to them particularly and cheerfully uppon the deckes.

Att high noone they tooke the elevation, and found that they were in the degree fifty-four and odde minuits, by which observation they were come butt a third part of their voyage in six dayes; Gothenbergh being in the degree fifty-seven and odde minuits, and London in the degree fifty-two.

Having thus traversed up and down the wide and rough seas; about four a'clocke this afternoon the wind came to south east, and blew a fresh gale fayre for their course: and heer it was propounded to Whitelocke, and chiefly urged by the gentlemen who were sicke, that Whitelocke, with the Phoenix, would make all the sayle he could to fetch his port; and leave the Elizabeth and Welch to stay for and bring up the other ships after him.

The grounds of their advice were: " For that the present  
" wind was so fayre and large, that it was pittie, and might  
" proove



1653. “ proove daungerous to loose it by staying for the other  
 Nov. 10. “ ships; that his ship was so fleet, that with this wind in  
 “ a short time she would recover Gothenbergh; whereas,  
 “ if she stayed for the rest, the wind might change, and  
 “ Whitelocke perhaps be kept a long time in daungerous  
 “ and tempestuous weather, as they had bin already, from  
 “ their desired port, which in such weather and season  
 “ they were not to neglect the attayning of it.”

Whitelocke answered them, “ That if he should doe as  
 “ they counselled, that yett no advantage would be therby  
 “ gained in their course; bicause, if the wind should hold  
 “ where it was, yett they could not reach butt to the Risse  
 “ against the Skaw by the next night, where they must lye  
 “ still at anchor, for the daunger of sayling neer to that  
 “ coast; and by the morning after, the whole fleet together  
 “ might come up to the same place, and in one day after  
 “ (wind and weather favouring) might gett from the Risse  
 “ to Gothenbergh: besides this, Whitelocke told them, he  
 “ could not answear the leaving any of his ships behind,  
 “ being all under his charge, and among ennemies; and in  
 “ case of mischiefe to any of them, he might be questioned  
 “ for leaving them.

“ Chiefly, he insisted on the point of honor, not to for-  
 “ sake any of his ships, and leave them to the mercy of  
 “ stormes and enemies, and not being with them to relieve  
 “ them, especially when he knew that there were enemies  
 “ abroade; but he was resolved to run the same hazard  
 “ with them.”

Captain Foster and the officers of his ship were of the  
 same judgment; bicause it might extreamly hazard the For-  
 tune and Adventure, being so neer the ennemies coast, and  
 they



they might founder in a storme for want of help; and the Elizabeth would be in great daunger in regard of the stormes and of our ennemies, who watched for an opportunity to fall upon them, and perchance they might be forced back to England; but Whitelocke would not indure the reflection and dishonor of such an action.

1653.

Nov. 10.

Uppon this resolution of Whitelocke's, his fleet went on in their course all together in their usuall order; and from four a'clock in the afternoon till eight at night, the wind blew large and fayre, and they ran in that watch about six leagues, and began to come somewhat neer to the continent, towards the coast of Denmarke.

From eight a'clock till twelve the last night, Whitelocke's fleet could not make above four leagues in their course, the wind in that time comming about more than it was, into the north and east; and after twelve a'clock at night it was full against them; so that they could gaine very little or nothing in their course.

11.

In the morning the sun rose very gloriously, and it was a fayre day and even sea, more like a day in June than in November, and so little wind stirring, that they could hardly make any way at all: when the sun was full south they tooke their observation of the latitude, and by the seamens instruments they found, that from yesterday at noon till this time, they had not run above sixteen leagues.

Att four a'clock in the afternoon, the wind blew more fresh, butt from north east, full against them; yett they kept on, labouring in the high sea, and traversing up and downe to and againe, as much as they could to the northward, which was butt very little.



1653. In the evening, before the setting of the watch, was the usual time of prayer in Whitelocke's ships; and both his chapleins having been sick the three last days, one Percall, a kind of master's mate, in his marriners habit, an elderly man, prayed before Whitelocke and his company (as he had done the three last days) very well and honestly, much beyond expectation, God having bestowed on him extraordinary gifts in praying and expounding the scripture; and it were pitty (especially att such a time and place) that they should be hid and not exercised: though the man might want a cassake and silk girdle, the modesty, sobriety, meeknes, good fence, and pious words of the man, made Whitelocke very willing att this time to joyne with this marriner's prayers.

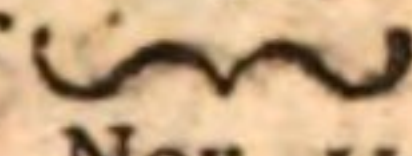
In the evening, the other ships came up to Whitelocke, who inquired of them how they all did; they lamentably complained of extreame sea-sicknes, and daungers of the stormes they had bin in; butt Whitelocke was cheerfull with them, and encouraged them the best he could.

He sent his boate to visit the Adventure, and bring his steward on board to him, who gave Whitelocke an account of their desperate sea-sicknes and frights with the tempestuous weather, and strange tossing and rowling of the Fortune; but Whitelocke drolled with them, and sent his steward encouraged back to his company, being glade they were all in safety.

He visited particularly the sick men in his ship, and commaunded that they should want nothing; and his kindnes to them, and his familiarity and freedome with the seamen was well taken, both by land-men and marriners.

Captain



Captain Welch came up to Whitelocke, and saluted him 1653.  
 with some gunnes, and sent him a present of some potts of  
 conferves, bottles of english smalle beer, and a swedish   
 cheese; Whitelocke (as he used) did drolle with him, and  
 returned thanks himselfe, and by his gunnes. Nov. 14.

This fayre day brought divers fishermen abroad; and  
 when Whitelocke came by any of them, they stricke sayle,  
 butt he would not goe out of his course to them, nor trouble  
 them.

About nine a'clock the last night, the wind came about 12.  
 to the south west, and within an hower it grew extreame  
 high and rough, butt fayre for their course all that night;  
 so that they ran this night about sixteen leagues, though the  
 Phoenix had only her fore-top-sayle half spred, bicause of  
 staying for the other ships; butt if she had made all her  
 sayles, probably she might have reached Gothenbergh by  
 the next night, she being able (by the seamens confession)  
 with that wind, to have sayled fifteen or sixteen leagues a  
 watch, which is four howers.

In the morning early, it was againe proposed for White-  
 locke to take the advantage of the wind, and to make all  
 the way he could to gett to Gothenbergh; butt himselfe, his  
 captain, and officers were against it, uppon the reasons be-  
 fore mentioned: and Whitelocke was resolved not to leave  
 any of his ships in daunger, butt to run the same fortune  
 and hazards with them.

He was forced to goe a slow pace to stay for his baggage  
 ships, to the great regret of his sick people: towards noon  
 the wind came about more to the north west; yett so as he  
 kept on his course, though he gained not much way. The



1653. wind was so violently high, and those northerne seas so exceeding rough and breaking, that much water came into the ships, and they had much to doe to worke it out att sea.

In the evening the Adventure came by Whitelocke, to give him an account of her company; she sayled a-head of Whitelocke, and did not returne to her place agayne. More Hollanders were fishing uppon these seas; butt they saw no english fishermen abroad.

13. About twelve a'clock the last night the wind began to fall, and blew so little, that they could hardly make any way in their course. Early in the morning the Adventure was missed, by getting some two leagues to the leeward of Whitelocke, who soon fought her out, and reproved her master for his indiscreet going before the last night; and this was also some hindrance in looking after her.

About eight in the morning, by founding, they found themselves in great daunger; Whitelocke's ship was within halfe a fadome of the sand, and made fowle water by striking as she passed over the Riffe, which is a long bank of sand, comming from the head of Jutland in Denmarke into the maine sea.

And heer agayne the Lord was pleased to preserve Whitelocke and his company from immediate daungers of the sands, and of the very high and rough northern seas, which frightened many of his men; but he encouraged them the best he could.

The wind being fallen, yett he kept on his course, though butt slowly, and was hindred by the distance of the other ships



ships from him; and the Adventure keeping on head of 1653.  
Whitelocke, and carrying the lanthorne contrary to orders,   
and the custome of the sea, was by Whitelocke reprehended Nov. 13  
for it.

The Phoenix, which was most in daunger of the sands and ennemies, ran only with part of her maine-top-sayle spread, and no more, to the end the other ships might come in to her, and keep with her, and to avoyd coming uppon the danish coast of Jutland, which is very daungerous, especially in the night time; yett heer they maintaine lights for the direction of ships. Whitelocke did forbear to acquaint his people, that about this place the last year, a gallant english frigott was cast away, and her men lost.

This being the *Lord's day*, Mr. de la Marche preached in the forenoon, very well, and the seamen were attentive to him; there were butt two of Whitelocke's company present at the sermon, the rest being sick in their cabbins.

In the afternoon Mr. Percall, one of the ship's company, and in his marriner's habit, preached a very honest and good sermon, and much beyond what might be expected from him. The wind continued low till about noon, and then came into west south-west; towards evening it increased to a fresh gale, and about seven a'clock it blew hard. Whitelocke kept on his course, though much hindered by the heavynes of the other ships; and in all this way in constant great daunger of the sands, his pilots having brought him too farre upon the Riffe, from which (through the goodnes of God) they got of well agayne.

About midnight the Phoenix furled her sayles and went 14.  
on drift, not willing to adventure any further in her course  
this



1653. this darke night, for feare of the coast; the sea grew very  
 ~~~~~ raging, with sharp stormes, the wind exceeding high, and  
 Nov. 14. much raine; the ships being on drift rowled much more
 then att other times, sufficiently affrighting some of the
 company, who solemnly repented, that they had left good
 colledges, and kind mothers and friends, full and whole-
 some dyet, and safety on firm land, to come to stinking
 water, salt and bad meat boyled in it, such as they could
 not eate; from good beds, and warme chambers, to cold
 close cabbins, and to be dashed all over with water; for
 security on shoare, to be lost in the deep sea.

When the ship lay low with the storme on one side, they
 counsell'd to remove all the trunks to the other side to
 keep her even; they suspected the seamen, being under the
 decks, had diserted their work, and given over the ship
 for lost, and no hopes of her.

One more especially, thus lamentably complayned; and
 that the ship was never quiet, butt continually rowling and
 tossing up and down; that the steersman would not, or
 could not, keep her upright, nor her marriners remove one
 trunk to keep her even; that they had not a drop of any
 water butt stunke; and att their meales, with forry dyet,
 the meate was often throwne of from the table into their
 laps; that they were wett over their bootes; and the seas
 were so rude and boisterous, that they had not a moment
 wherein they did not expect to be devoured by the waves;
 and it was comfort to this gentleman, that his master was
 in no better condition: butt it was much mirth to his
 master, and the rest of his company, in their great perills;
 and is heer inserted for diversions sake.

The

The captain of the Phoenix was up all night, being full of care and vigilance to doe his duety. Whitelocke himselfe was ill of his supper of egges, which is bad dyet att sea; he rose about three a'clock in the morning, and afterwards slept foundly on the boardes. 1653.
Nov. 14.

Hoping that they were neer the coast, Whitelocke promised a bottle of sack to the marryner who should first descrye land, which carryed many of them to the top and top-gallant; and about eight a'clock in the morning there were so many descryers of land, that all Whitelocke's bottles would not suffice to keep his word; about nine a'clock he saw land himselfe, being the coast of Jutland in Denmarke.

With this good newes he went to his sick people to comfort them; he drolled with them, especially with the complainants, cheered them the best way he could, took part with them of the stinking water, and bad dyet; and encouraged them from the sight of land, and as having now butt a little while longer to be in their sick cabbins, and with their bad intertainement.

The wind was very fayre, west south-west; butt they could make butt little way, Whitelocke being faine to furl his maine sayle, and stay for the other ships; butt espying a sayle to the leeward of them, Whitelocke spred all his sayles, and, in lesse then an hower, overtook her, and, upon fying at her, she strooke sayle; Whitelocke bore up to her, and finding her to be a merchantman of Stockeholme, lett her passe freely.

About three in the afternoon they came to the head of the Skaw, in passing about which sand, they tacked so

1653. short, that they had butt three fathome and a quarter
 Nov. 14. water, and the ship drew two fathome and a halfe; and
 heer (as throughout the voyage) God was pleased mercifully
 to preserve them from imminent and great daunger.

When they were got on the weather side of this sand, Whitelocke cast anchor; the Adventure came in to an anchor with him, so did Welch, butt the Fortune and Elizabeth were lost of them. The Elizabeth fell in chace of a dutch ship, which she could not master, till she had shot down one of the Hollander's sayles, then she took her, though she were an excellent sayler, and had good guns. From her skipper they understood, that the late great storme drove eighteen of the dutch men of warre on shoare, and split most of them; and that 4000 dead carkasses of their men floated to the Holland shore: the more did God's goodnes appear to Whitelocke and his company, in their preservation in the same storme.

This rencounter made the Elizabeth and Fortune to lose Whitelocke, and in great stormes and daunger to trye it out att sea.

15. After Whitelocke had cast anchor, within two howers: the wind grew to a very raging storme; and it was so violent, that the seamen doubted their cables, and feared to be driven uppon the coast, which was no smalle daunger; the ships, as they lay, tossed and rowled so vehemently, that both old and young seamen had cause enough to be affrayd of their present condition: butt Whitelocke incouraged them the best he could, and perswaded them to putt their confidence in him who could still the raging of the seas when he pleased.

About

About midnight the wind and tempest began to cease, 1653.
and blow north-west, fayre for Gothenberg; att which
Whitelocke cheered his company; and he had gott much
into their affection, and into the favour of the officers and
marriners by his kindnes and familiarity, and by being
much on the deckes, and drolling with them, and dis-
coursing; especially by affording them now-and-then a
dowse in the neck, or a kick, in jeast, seeing them play;
and then giving them some of his own tobacco, wine, and
strong waters, as there was occasion: which demeanors
please those kind of people.

Nov. 15.

About four a'clocke in the morning, Whitelocke com-
manded to fire two guns, for warning to his ships to
weigh anchor and sayle with him; and about six a'clock
he was under sayle, though much troubled to weigh his
anchor, the same having dragged that night, by the violence
of the stormes, about a league from the place in which it
was lett fall; and the anchor of the Adventure was so
fastened, that they were five howers in weighing of it, nor
could they then have done it, without great help, wherein
Welch and his lusty fellowes did good service.

These two ships followed Whitelocke to the coast of
Norwey, to the *Pater Noster Rockes*, so called for that the
dreadfullnes of them putts the passengers in mind of saying
their prayers; and surely that coast, and countrey, being
full of huge, tall, craggy, numberless company of rockes,
especially att that time of the year, and scarce any thing
else to be seen, yielded a prospect full enough of dread and
terror.

Their stories of *monstrous fishes* in this sea, some in the
shape of *gyants*, rising to the top of the water, and com-
ming

1653. ming to a ship's side, and snatching men away from the
 Nov. 15. deckes to the bottom of the sea; with their multitudes of
 witches, and other dismall relations, neither perswade
 much credit, nor readines to goe thither to inquire the
 trueth of them.

The wind being fayre and large, Whitelocke hasted, and
 came, by twelve a'clock att noon (blessed be God) in safety
 to the port of Gothenbergh; having no pilot from the
 shoare, as ships usually have, butt his own pilot adventured
 (and it was adventure enough) and by the goodnes of
 God, brought him safely into their long desired harbor.

Welch and the Adventure followed Whitelocke, and
 getting pilots from the shoare, where they watch to be im-
 ployed, they also (through God's goodnes) arrived safely
 in the same port; and so did the Elizabeth and the For-
 tune, with their dutch prize, the same day, following White-
 locke thither.

And although the dayes before, every one of his ships
 was scattered, and gone from him, by the terrible stormes;
 and this day he came in himselfe alone to this harbour:
 yett it pleased God, that heer every one of his ships came
 in the same day to him; to the rejoycing of them all, in
 the goodnes of their guide.

Att Whitelocke's first comming thither he found two
 english men of war there, who had bin sent a convoy to
 some marchantmen; these expressed much joy att White-
 locke's arrivall, saluting him by their cannon, and by the
 shouts and acclamations of their men.

Being

Being come into the brade water, Whitelocke lett fall 1653.
 his anchor, about cannon shot from the castle; butt would Nov. 15.
 not come neerer to it. He saluted the castle with eleven
 guns, and a little moving his flagge, and putting it up
 agayne; the castle made no returne to him; yett White-
 locke sent some of his people, who spake dutch, and Mr.
 Berkman, who came with Whitelocke all his voyage; he
 now went with Whitelocke's servants to the castle, to salute
 the governor, and lett him know, that Whitelocke was
 come thither ambassador from England to the queen of
 Sweden; wherof he thought fitt to give the governor
 notice: butt they not finding him in the castle, mett with
 him in the town, and there delivered their message to him;
 who returned a civill answer, that he was glad of the am-
 bassador's safe arrivall, and if he pleased to come to the
 town the next day, that the governor would send boates to
 attend him, and be ready to give him intertainment with
 all due respect.

Whitelocke sent for the officers, and all the gentlemen in
 the other ships, to come on board to him; where they went
 to prayers together, to returne thanks to their most gra-
 tious God, who had, in so much mercy, preserved them
 in so many and imminent daungers, and to bring all of
 them in safety and comfort to their desired harbour.

Having sent some of his servants before to the towne, to
 make provisions for his comming thither; he was earnestly
 intreated, by his gentlemen and people, to goe on shoare
 that night, and to dispence with the ceremonies of his re-
 ception att the towne, which might be performed after his
 landing. Whitelocke pittied them, being extreame sick,
 and weather-beaten att sea, and their provisions and spirits
 almost spent; he yielded to their request, and, in the even-
 ing,

1653. ing, he, and most of his company, tooke the ship boates
 Nov. 15. to goe on shoare. As they passed by, the castle saluted
 him with two guns, and no more; the like did the men of
 war, and marchantmen in the river: wherof he inquiring
 the reason, was informed, that their constant custome was,
 and a strict commaund uppon them, to give butt two guns
 uppon any occasion, which they call a Swedes leasing;
 and the example for saving of powder may providently be
 followed.

Att his landing, he was received by a tall man in redde
 clothes, whom they then termed the major of the town
 forces; who was very civill, and conducted Whitelocke to
 his inne, hard by, through a multitude of spectators.

Shortly after his being landed, there came to visit him
 the landtshere, or landtzhueed, that is, the lord or head of
 the land, or territory, who is governor of the town, and
 of a precinct about it; he was accompanied by lieutenant
 collonell Sinclere, a scotsman, who interpreted for him to
 this effect:

“ The landtzhere prayes you to excuse your not being
 “ received with that solemnity which was fitt, bicause they
 “ did not expect him comming till to-morrow morning;
 “ butt you are heartily wellcome: and it is the queen’s
 “ pleasure, that all respect be given to you; which the
 “ landtzhere is ready to performe, and to serve you in any
 “ thing within his power.”

Whitelocke returned thanks for the queen’s favour, and
 for the landtzhere’s civility; and spake in english, bicause
 the landtzhere spake in swedish. After him came Martin
 Thyssen, the queen’s vice admiral, a dutchman, to bid
 White-

Whitelocke wellcome ; who wondered att his compliments, 1653.
 in falling then into discourse about the war between Eng-
 land and Holland, magnifying the actions and successes of Nov. 15.
 the Dutch, and undervaluing the English : butt he was
 roundly answered by Whitelocke, and told, that such were
 the successes of the Dutch, that the English, in this war,
 had taken 1200 dutch ships, and not lost 100 english ships,
 and had worsted them in every ingagement.

With this, Martin Thyssen seemed much displeased, and
 afterwards complained to some, that Whitelocke had dis-
 paraged the dutch nation ; Whitelocke answered, that
 Thyssen, being a Dutchman, began the discourse, and dis-
 paraged the English, which he could not, nor would not
 beare ; and, after this, Thyssen discoursed no more on that
 subject.

Collonel Nerne, a scotsman, who commanded the regi-
 ment of foot in the town, gave Whitelocke a visit, and
 some complements.

Whitelocke's goods could not be permitted to be brought
 on shoare to him this night ; it being the order of this town,
 that in the evening they shutt the *Boome*, which is a great
 barre of timber, so sett, that it may easily be moved for-
 ward and backward, and locked : it is brought crosse that
 place in the river left for passage, and being shutt, all pas-
 sage is stopped by water ; and they will not open it till the
 morning, for the safety of the town, and preventing steal-
 ing of custome.

Whitelocke sent to have it opened for his goods to passe,
 butt it was not done, which he tooke ill ; and the landtz-
 here afterwards excused, that he knew not of his sending
 to have it opened.

1653. Towards night, thirty foldiers were sent to Whitelocke's
 Nov. 15. lodging to keep guard there, wherat Whitelocke tuck ex-
 ception, not being first acquainted with it, and, by his
 condition, priviledged from such things to be imposed on
 him: butt the landtzhere and Berkman alleadged it to be a
 custome, and constant respect in this countrey, where any
 foldiers were, to send some as guards to ambassadors;
 wherewith Whitelocke was satisfyed, and the foldiers were
 quiet and civill; commending the english ambassador's hos-
 pitality, such as they were not accustomed to; and thank-
 fully accepting the meate, and drinke, and money, which
 the ambassador gave them; the expectation wherof by them
 was some motive to this their respect.

16. Berkman boasted away early to the court, to give the
 queen notice of Whitelocke's arrivall; and, about nine
 a'clock, came an officer from the magistrates of the citty
 to Whitelocke, to know if he were att leisure to give them
 leave to waite on him; and, was answered, that they
 should be wellcome whensoever they pleased to come:
 within an hower came to him to his inne, the three *presi-*
dents, who are the principal *magistrates* of the town, with
 the *syndick*, who is in nature of *recorder*, and twelve, called
assitants.

Whitelocke being come forth to them in the outer roome,
 after salutations, the first president made a sett speech in
 latin to this effect*:

* For the
 original
 see appen-
 dix A.

" Most excellent lord ambassador,

" The citty of Gothenbergh, whose servants we are,
 " doe, by us, salute your excellence, and congratulate
 " your safe arrivall att this place, to which you are most
 " wellcome.

" They

“ They intreate your excellence to excuse the manner 1653.
 “ of your reception heer; they doe acknowledge, that Nov. 16.
 “ heerin they have not demeaned themselves as was requi-
 “ site towards so great a person, and of such condition
 “ as you are: all things were unsuitable to a negotiation
 “ from the free common-wealth of England, and to the
 “ commaund of our most serene queen; and were farre
 “ otherwise then was agreeable to the intention and desire
 “ of this citty.

“ The suddain and unlooked-for comming of your ex-
 “ cellence, from your ship, did prevent all due offices;
 “ yett they hope, and intreate your excellence, that you
 “ will not take it in ill part; and doe assure you, that as
 “ long as you shall be pleased to make your residence in
 “ this citty, what commaunds your excellence shall im-
 “ pose uppon us, we shall observe, and not be wanting in
 “ all honor and respect towards the free common-wealth
 “ of England, and the affayres wherwith your excellence
 “ is trusted: and they doe heerin wish their own happi-
 “ nes, when they wish into your excellence all prosperity
 “ and good successe in the buisnes committed to your care
 “ and charge.”

The president delivered this with a gracefull mienne,
 and many ceremonies, bowing himselfe when he named the
 queen, or the common-wealth, or the ambassador.

After a little pause, and saluting them, Whitelocke an-
 swered in latin to this effect *:

* See ap-
 pendix B.

“ Most honord gentlemen,

“ I give you many thanks, for that by this civility and
 “ respect to me (their servant) you manifest the esteem
 “ you

1653. " you have for the common-wealth of England, wherof I
 Nov. 16. " shall not fayle to certefy my superiors.

" And I doe not doubt, butt that my reception heer
 " had bin anfwearable to your expreffions, had not my
 " unexpected arrivall prevented it; for which I desire your
 " excuse to those who having bin long att sea, tossed with
 " many tempests, and contrary winds, had an earnest de-
 " fire to come on shoare. And I shall hope, in a short
 " time, to have the opportunity of giving thanks to her
 " majesty, for her commaunds as to my reception. I
 " doubt not butt that the good and great God, who hath
 " brought me and my company safe to this honorable citty,
 " and preserved us in our daungerous voyage, will still
 " goe along with us, and vouchsafe his gracious successe
 " to the buisnes committed to my trust, and to all other
 " the affayres of the common-wealth of England."

After this, they fell into generall discourfes in latin,
 which most of them, and the syndick, spake very well, and
 which is not usuall for burgers elfewhere: they offered
 their service for Whitelocke's accomodation heer, and in his
 land journey, and took their leaves with much ceremony
 and civility. Whitelocke brought them to the doore of the
 inne where he lodged.

Some of his officers and gentlemen were appointed by
 Whitelocke to confider of some orders, and present them to
 him, for the better regulating, and government of his fa-
 mily.

In the afternoon he was visited by collonel Sinclere, of
 whom he learnt the number, pay, and discipline of their
 soldiers heer, and the manner of their fortifications.

This

This day his tronkes and goods could not be brought on shoare, by reason of the ill weather. In the evening, about ^{1653.}
 twenty men and boyes, with lanthornes and candles, came ^{Nov. 16.}
 to Whitelocke's lodging, and sang in parts, with indiffer-
 ent good skill and voyces; they were choristers, and their
 musick such as they had in their churches: the end was a
 reward of eight ricks dollars.

The rest of Whitelocke's goods were brought on shoare ^{17.}
 to the town, being butt three miles from the ships; and his
 horses were lifted on shoare; and which was wondered att,
 after so long and tempestuous a voyage, not one of thirty-
 two horses was spoyled, lame, or hurt, when they came
 on shoare.

The goods in the Fortune being mostly provisions, White-
 locke intended to have sent by sea to Stockholme; butt
 by advice of the magistrates of Gothenbergh, that it would
 not be so cheape nor secure, as to send them by land; and
 that the frost being come, if it should hold, the goods could
 not be brought by sea to Stockholme till the next spring:
 Whitelocke ordered them also to be brought on shoare.

Amongst all his people, after so long and dangerous a
 sea voyage, and so much sea-sicknes (such was the won-
 derfull goodnes of God) that now being come together, not
 one of them was ill, or had the least hurt. Whitelocke
 held it his, and their duety, to returne all thankfullnes to
 God for his mercy and preservation; and, for that end,
 appointed all his people to meet the next morning att his
 lodging, to keep it a day of thanksgiving for his mercy.

The syndick came courteously to Whitelocke to know if
 he wanted any thing, wherein he might serve him; he was

1653. a civill person, and spake good latin and french: Whitelocke was courteous to him att dinner, and, in the afternoon, sent doctor Whistler, Mr. Ingelo, and Mr. de la Marche, with the syndick, to the chiefe president, to thank him and the rest of the magistrates for their respects; and to advise with them about his land journey, and the conveyance of his goods to Stockholme.

Nov. 17.

Whitelocke thought fitt to send two of his own servants, Andrew Potley, and Meredith (who both spake good high dutch, which is generally understood in Sweden) with letters to prince Adolphe, grand master of Sweden, the prince Palatins brother, and other letters to the ricks chancellor Oxenstierne, to this purpose * :

* See appendix,
C.

The english of the letter was this :

To his Highnes the Great Master of the Kingdome of Sweden.

“ Most illustrious sir,

“ According to the commaunds which I have received
“ from the parlement of the common-wealth of England,
“ to performe an ambassy to your most serene queen; I
“ have att length arrived att Gothenbergh, where I hoped
“ to have met her majesty, from a relation in England, by
“ a creditable person, given unto me: butt being disap-
“ pointed of my hopes, and not knowing whither to bend
“ my course for the performance of my charge, I held it
“ fitt, by my servant, with these letters to certify your
“ highnes heerof, that you might be pleased to gratify me
“ with a signification of the place, whither I may repayre

“ to

“ to make my applications to the most serene queen, for 1653.
 “ the discharge of the commission and office of

Nov. 17.

“ your highnes most addicted,
 Gothenburgh,
 Nov. 16th,
 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The like letters he sent to the ricks chancellor, changing the title of excellence for highness; and this night he gave them to his servants, with his instructions, to deliver them to which of these lords they should find att court, or first meet with.

The house where Whitelocke lay was a common *cruise* or *inne*, inferior to our ordinary innes in England; the house was meanly furnished, not any hangings or wainscot, butt bare walles in the best chambers; yett excellent in comparifon of what they found in other places.

Whitelocke's lodging was between two feather beddes, after the fashion of that countrey, which is light and warme; butt not so pleasing to Englishmen, who are not accustomed to it, as their rugges and blankets on them,

In most of their roomes and chambers is a *chimney* and a *stove*, either of which may be made use of; butt Whitelocke found the stoyes close and suffocating, and not so sweet as the chimnyes, which he only used.

The chimnyes are built high from the hearth to the mantle-tree, neer twice as high as those in England, and are broade and sloaping on either side; a little above the mantle-tree, where the tunnell growes narrow, is sett a

1653. plate of iron, so as it may be shutt crosse the tunnell to
 Nov. 17. stop it, and opened by a string on the outside of the chimney; the use of it is, that when the fire is burnt to coales, and no smoake left, then they thrust in the iron plate crosse the tunnell of the chimney, the which stops it, that no aier can come downe, nor heate ascend up out of the chimney, butt strikes the heate out into the roome; which much increaseth the warmeth of the roome, and causeth it to last the longer.

The manner of their making *fires* is not as with us, on andirons, they having none of these, nor fire-shovells, tongues, bellows, or the like; butt their wood being cleft into stickes of firre, like our stackewood, butt shorter and more cleft; they sett a good many of those stickes up on end, in the chimney, uppon a little strawe, and that being sett on fire kindles, and makes a good fire presently: and this way is generally used by them.

Their provision of *dyett* is plentiful enough, butt of no great variety either for fish or fowle, and their beefe and mutton is very leane; in the winter, which was now begun, if it was made the better by Whitelocke's cookes dressing of it; and the best intertainment that he found, was what he brought with him, good english beere, and meale, butter, cheese, baken-meates, spanish and french wine, and divers good provisions: and his field-bed he chose to lye in rather than between two of their beds.

18. The landtzhere sent a man of his owne to be a guide to Potley and Meredith, and to take order for horses and acomodations for them in their journey to court, whither Whitelocke sent them; so full of courtesy were the officers and people to Whitelocke in this place. Vice admirall
 Thyssen

Thyfen came to colonell Potley, and desired him to acquaint his lord, that many complaints were brought to the vice admiral against one of Whitelocke's captaines, captain Welch, about his visiting of ships comming neer, and to, this port; and that he being one of Whitelocke's fleet, the vice admiral would proceed no otherwise in this buisnes, butt (out of respect to the english ambassador) to desire him to take course to prevent it: and Whitelocke thought fitt to doe so, by a direction to captain Foster, to be by him communicated to captain Welch; and it was obeyed.

1653.
Nov. 18.

The military officers in this town gave a great respect to Whitelocke; colonell Nerne, lieutenant colonell Sinclere, the town major, and others, came to accompany him to see the fortifications, and view the town. He went forth with them, and now (as att other times) was attended with about forty of his gentlemen, his lacquayes, and other of his people, all with their swords by their sides; and the gentlemen going bare before him in the towne, the inhabitants, as they passed by, shewed great civility and respect to Whitelocke; who was not backward to answer them in the same manner.

Att their returne, Whitelocke stayed the collonel and officers att dinner with him, where was his captain Foster, and others, and much discourse about the affayres and warre between England and Holland; butt Whitelocke did not declare himselfe freely in that buisnes and company: and he and his people, by his admonition, were careful to avoyd any reflection, nor would Whitelocke beare it.

Captain Foster desired Whitelocke's licence for his departure with the Elizabeth and the other ships for England, bicause

1653. ^{Nov. 18.} because the frost was begunne, and perhaps might lock them up all the winter, if they did not take the first opportunity to sayle; which Whitelocke willingly gave them leave to do, and prepared his dispatches, and ordered them to be a convoy to those english ships which were now going from hence with pitch, tarre, hempe, and masts for the states use in England.

Att parting with his fellow seamen, Whitelocke gave to captain Foster a silver bason and ewer, of the value of 20 l. and sent 10 l. to the officers of his ship, and 10 l. more to the marriners. To captain Minnes he gave a silver tankard of 10 l. value, and 10 l. to his ship's company. To the seamen of the Adventure he sent 40 s. and ordered the holland ship which was taken by Minnes, to be sold heer, except her guns, and those to be carryed for England; butt the vessell would have bin troublesome in the voyage.

The syndick acquainted Whitelocke, that he was appointed by the presidents to attend Whitelocke in his journey to Upsala, to see that he should want no accomodations in the way; which was kindly taken by Whitelocke, who received now, and constantly during his stay heer, many testimonies of civility and respect from the governors and people of this citty; and among the rest, this day the town sent him a present of a hogshead of rhenish wine, with some fresh fish, and a civill complement.

19. This day Whitelocke sett a-part for a day of thanksgiving to God, for his wonderfull mercy and preservation of him and his company in their daungerous sea voyage, and his safe arrivall heer: and his people having received some refreshment on shoare, and being now come together att his lodging.

Mr. Ingelo began the duty of the day, and acquainted them with the occasion of the meeting; then Mr. Stapleton prayed and returned humble and hearty thanks to God for his mercy: after he had prayed, Mr. Ingelo preached an excellent sermon, and very seasonable for the occasion: after they had done, Whitelocke himselfe spake to the company to this effect:

1653.

Nov. 19.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ You all have great cause to returne humble and hearty
 “ thanks to God for his goodnes to you, and for your pre-
 “ servation in our daungerous sea voyage: butt I have
 “ more cause to returne thankfullnes to God than any
 “ of you, I might say then all of you have, for I am in-
 “ gaged to the goodnes of our God in respect of you all,
 “ who have taken part with me in our daungers, and in
 “ whose good or ill I am concerned as father of the family,
 “ whereof you all are children.

“ The duty of this relation causeth my speaking to you
 “ at this time.

“ Before you began this voyage, it pleased God to putt
 “ it into our hearts to seek him for his blessing uppon it,
 “ and he hath bin gratioussly found of us, and vouchsafed
 “ such a returne of our prayers, wherby he hath given us
 “ our lives for a prey, and hath appeared to be our God
 “ and our preservation.

“ I hope we are all convinced that it is equally our duty
 “ to give thanks to our God for his mercyes received,
 “ which is the way to be partakers of more; if we be not
 “ weary of seeking him, he will not be weary of help-
 “ ing us.

“ This

1653.

Nov. 19.

“ This is God’s buisnes and our own, as Seneca divinely
 “ faith; he who teacheth gratitude, acts the buisnes of
 “ gods and men.

“ Those gentlemen who have already spoken to you on
 “ this occasion, have piously and learnedly exhorted us as
 “ to the inward man, out of the word of God, what per-
 “ tains to this duety of thanksgiving.

“ My part is as to the outward man, to indeavor that
 “ there be a practise answerable to the precepts of it. We
 “ have offered in our own countrey our petitionary sacrifices,
 “ and God hath gratioously heard us; lett us not be want-
 “ ing in a strange land, whither he has safely brought us,
 “ in our eucharisticall sacrifices; lett us with Noah build an
 “ altar to God, and offer up our prayers to him, who hath
 “ preserved us in the midst of the great flouds, when we
 “ heard of very many of our neighbours drowned: we have
 “ great cause to magnify his name.

“ The Hebrew for prayse signifies to offer a gift: what
 “ gift are we to offer to God? the psalmist cxix. 7, 8. in-
 “ structs us; I will prayse thee with uprightnes of heart,
 “ I will keep thy statutes: this is the way of praying God,
 “ by uprightnes of heart, by keeping his statutes, by living
 “ answerable to our mercyes.

“ Lett our thanksgivings be after the latin phrase, gratias
 “ agere, to doe thanksgivings to our God, which is the
 “ most pleasing sacrifice; and that we may the better doe
 “ this, I have (according to what I esteem my duety) re-
 “ solved uppon some orders for the better government of
 “ my family, wherunto I shall expect a strict conformity;
 “ and keep my word with you, I shall not connive att any
 “ breach

“ breach of them ; it will be to the honor of God and our
“ countrey, to your good and mine, that they be carefully
“ observed by you ; and that none may pretend ignorance
“ of them, you shall heare them now published.”

1653.

Nov. 19.

Then Whitelocke caused Mr. Stapleton to read before
all the company the insuing orders :

“ 1. That none doe sweare, or curse, or blaspheme, or
“ take the name of God in vaine.

“ 2. That none be overseen in drink, and to this end,
“ that they neither begin nor pledge healths.

“ 3. That all doe observe the times of prayer and pub-
“ lique worship, which, besides the Lord's days, will be
“ twice every day in the family. And that they pretend
“ no excuse, either for absence or late comming to those
“ exercises.

“ 4. That none revile, quarrell with, or give reprochfull
“ language to another, but all to behave themselves in-
“ offensively.

“ 5. That none stay out late in the evenings, after six
“ a'clock, uppon any pretence whatever, without leave
“ from his excellence, or his steward, or those appointed
“ by him to take care of the government of the family.

“ 6. That none offer any abuse in words or actions to
“ any of his countrey, or of any other nation, butt be
“ carefull to give no just cause of offence or scandall to
“ strangers, or to our religion ; nor to affront any, which
“ may occasion any quarrell or disturbance.

1653. " 7. If any offend against any of these orders, after ad-
 monition given him, he is to expect no other, butt a dis-
 Nov. 19. " mission from his excellence's family."

Besides these orders, Whitelocke made others that were not read, touching the attendance of his servants in their severall charges, and concerning ceremonies and civilities, and to forbear comming neer the fire after they came out of the cold aier, and the like.

He appointed that his two sons, Dr. Whistler, his chapleins, and colonell Potley should constantly sitt att his own table, and the rest of the gentlemen of that ranke in turnes, one halfe one day, and the other the next day, as conveniency and guests did permit; and those who sate not att his own table, to sitt at his steward's table, which often was in the same roome with himselfe.

After the orders read, Mr. Stapleton explained them, and exhorted obedience to them; and Whitelocke againe told them he expected obedience to them, and an account from his officers of any who should not conforme to them; and then he dismissed them.

This day Whitelocke wrote to the councell an account of his voyage, of God's goodnes in the preservation of him and his company, of the taking and dismissal of the dutch ships, and the grounds of his so doing; of the civilities and respects he received in this place; of their phrase of "liberum rempub. Angliæ;" touching the ordinance which he was to buy, that there were none ready; and what probable newes he heard: and sent his letters to captain Foster.

This

This being the *Lord's day*, colonell Nerne and divers 1653.
other scots officers and captains of ships, both english and ^{Nov. 20.}
scots, came in the morning and heard the sermon in White-
locke's lodging; and most of them dyed with him.

In the afternoone (as 'tis usuall in these parts to take this
day for buisnes) the landtzhere and vice admiral, with sever-
all others, came to Whitelocke, and expostulated with him
about the dutch prize which the Elizabeth had taken and
brought into this port.

The vice admiral alledged, that this dutch ship was wait-
ing on the fishing, which had bin always free for any in those
seas, and this ship ought not to have bin taken by White-
locke; who answered, that if the right of fishing were ex-
amined, it would be found to belong to none in those seas,
butt such as had licence from the state of England to fish
there; and that such licences had bin usually heertofore
graunted by the king of England, and accepted by the
dutch and others, and gabells imposed on the fishermen; and
in this Whitelocke had a furtherance from his former
studyes.

He told them, if such a right should be admitted (which
was totally denyed) yett it would take butt little place with
those in enmity, as the dutch now were with the english;
that he held this prize justly taken, and saw no cause to re-
lease it.

The vice admiral angerly replied, asserting the right of
fishing; Whitelocke as sternly denying it. Then Thyssen ob-
jected, that the queen had forbidden any prizes of the dutch,
or any other in amity with her majesty, as the dutch were,
to be taken in her streames, or brought into her ports; and

1653. that the bringing in of this dutch ship to Gothenbergh was
 Nov. 20. expressely against the queen's inhibition, and ought to be
 released.

Whitelocke answered, that this dutch ship was not taken in any of the queen's streames, butt upon the high seas, many leagues distant from any of the queen's streames; and being taken by Whitelocke's fleet, she became one of them, and now rode under his flagge; and the common-wealth whom he served being in amity with the queen, that he their ambassador might bring this ship as well as any other of his fleet with him to Gothenbergh; and wished Thyssen to rest satisfyed, for he could not release the ship upon these termes: at which the vice admiral became more calme than before.

Whitelocke had intelligence that some dutch ships were loading with ordinance and ammunition att Stockholm, wherof he gave notice to captain Foster, and by letters advised, whither he and the Elizabeth might not have opportunity to waite for them, and indeavour to attach them in their way home.

21. Captain Foster returned this answer to Whitelocke's letters.

“ 1. It is very probable that the dutch residing at Gothen-
 “ bergh have ere this sent intelligence to Stockholm of our
 “ being heer, and of what strength we are; and what like-
 “ lyhood there is that your honor hath gained intelligence
 “ of them, and theruppon may have commaunded us to
 “ attend their motion, betwixt the Riffe and Dogger Sand.

“ 2. That

“ 2. That uppon receipt of such intelligence, they will
 “ either order their stay there till the Spring, which they
 “ had rather doe then hazard the loosing of them ; or else
 “ provide such a convoy for them, as we cannot doe any
 “ good uppon. 1653.
Nov. 21.

“ 3. That if we doe waite for their motion, and meet
 “ with them, our first work will be to incounter with their
 “ convoy, and to distroy them ; uppon which these two
 “ evils may insue, viz. either we may be disabled in our
 “ masts, and become a prey to them, or att best, when
 “ their convoyes are ingaged, they will undoubtedly escape,
 “ and run their ships on shoare rather then be taken.

“ 4. And lastly, if we doe lye for them, and meet with
 “ them, yett, in regard it is in depth of winter, the winds
 “ and seas may be so high, that we cannot meddle with each
 “ other ; so that time and provisions may be spent, and the
 “ result of all may be to us butt a checke.”

“ These perticulars are humbly throwne att your honors
 “ feet, notwithstanding which, if you shall please, uppon more
 “ mature considerations, to send me order to attend the buis-
 “ nes, we shall in the strength of our Lord waive all feares
 “ of daunger, and to the utmost of our powers indeavor the
 “ executing of your lordships commaunds to the last man ;
 “ craving your lordship's pardon for my assumption heerin, I
 “ commit you into the bosom of divine protection.”

Whitelocke was satisfied with captain Foster's reasons,
 and wrote to him that he should not waite for those dutch
 ships att Stockholm ; and he gave an account of that buisnes
 by letters in cypher to the councell, praying their further
 direction therein.

1653. This day Whitelocke was visited by one of the presidents
 and syndick, who offered their service for his accomodations;
 Nov. 21. and the syndick offered and undertooke to mannage the
 buisnes of his journey, and waite upon him; whose cour-
 tesy Whitelocke did willing accept.

By letters of credit which Whitelocke brought with him
 from his merchant in England; he received heer of Mr.
 Gough, correspondent to Mr. Phips, 2000 rix dollars, for
 which he gave him this his acquittance.

“ Att Gothenbergh, 12. November 1653.”

“ Received then by me B. Whitelocke, &c. of Timothy
 “ Gough, merchant, the some of 2000 ricks dollers, which
 “ I doe heerby promise shall be repayed to Mr. Gough, or
 “ his certain order, when and where he pleaseth; witnes
 “ my hand,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The vice-admiral and the magistrates of this town finding
 Whitelocke's resolution to be fixed as to the dutch prize,
 and that the way which the vice admiral had gone would not
 take with Whitelocke, who was not to be vapoured or
 threatened into a conformity to their desires, they therfore
 now joined together in a way of more respect and civility;
 making it their suit to him, that for the good of the town,
 and out of charity and favour, he would be pleased of his
 own generosity and free good will, to release this ship.

Whitelocke told them he was ready to manifest the good
 affections of his superiors and of himselfe to this citty, and
 to doe a worke of charity, wished that the skipper should
 present

present a petition to him for the release of his ship ; and he 1653.
promised a favourable answer to it.

Nov. 21.

This he did to try if the vice admiral and skipper, being dutchmen, would acknowledge the common-wealth of England and their ambassador ; which they had no mind to doe, nor Whitelocke to gratify them without it. Yett they expected this day what he would doe in it ; and the skipper came often to Whitelocke's lodging to sollicite for his letter to the captain of the Elizabeth to release his ship ; butt was asked for his petition, without which the skipper was told that nothing could be done in his buisnes.

Another of the presidents of the town and the syndick 22.
agayne visit Whitelocke ; with whom he conferred about his journey, and made some requests to them in order therunto, which they and their brethren carefully performed.

The vice admiral and the skipper of the dutch prize, seeing that Whitelocke insisted to have a petition for the release of the ship, their stomackes came down, and their great master, profit, prevayled with them ; so that the skipper presented to Whitelocke a petition in latin ; the title was,

“ Nobilissime et excellentissime domine, my lord White-
“ locke patrone devenerande.

“ Most noble and most excellent lord, my lord White-
“ locke, &c.”

The prayer was to have his ship and goods restored ;
“ which, that it may be done, I humbly petition that your
“ excellence would vouchsafe to signify the same by your
“ mandatory letters to the captain.”

Whitelocke

1653. Whitelocke was not satisfied with this petition, as not
Nov. 22. sufficiently acknowledging his superiors, and himselfe; which
he objected to the landtzhire, the vice admiral and
the magistrates who againe applied themselves to White-
locke, and made it their joint and earnest request to him
to release the ship: and to his objection they answered,
that the poor skipper had gone as farre as he durst
in the acknowledgment of the common-wealth of Eng-
land and their ambassador, for feare of being questioned
for it by his lords the states when he came home; that he
had inserted the word petition, and the tittle of excellence,
which is due to ambassadors only; and therby had in effect
acknowledged the common-wealth, and their ambassador:
and it was believed by some, that the skipper would be
punished when he came home for going so farre as he had
done. And all these gentlemen were all earnest suitors to
Whitelocke, not to insist further upon the forme or title,
butt to accept the poor skipper's intentions of due honor
and respect to him; and that, upon the grounds of pre-
serving a fayre correspondence between the queen their
mistres and the common-wealth, whom he served, and to
prevent any disputes upon the matter of her majesty's
right, and of her inhibitions, and to doe a favour to this
citty, whose trade was so highly concerned heerin, and to
doe an act of great charity to the poor men; he would be
pleased to order the release of this ship, which would be
well taken by the queen, and an obligation upon this citty:
and that those persons who were now suitors to him for it,
would be ready to serve him in any thing within their ut-
most powers.

By these arguments Whitelocke was more perswaded than
by any other; and told these gentlemen, that for the title
of

of excellence, it was due to senators, generalls, and high admiralls, as well as to ambassadors; butt that he was the more satisfied that neither the right of the common-wealth whom he served, nor of their ambassador, was denyed, because the noble vice admirall and the rest of them did so often and so freely in their discourse acknowledge it; that he was very willing to lay hold on any occasion wherby he might testify the honor and respect which his superiors and himselfe had for the queen their mistris, and all care to prevent any misunderstanding between her majesty and the common-wealth of England, preserving the due right of them and their servant; that he was also very ready to doe all good offices for this citty, which had expressed high respects to his superiors in their civilities to him, who held himselfe obliged also to gratify those gentlemen who did him the honor to make this request to him, and from whom he had received all respect in this place: that on all these considerations, they had prevayled with him (who could hardly give them a denyall) that att their desire, and to expresse his respect to her majesty, to these noble persons, and to this citty, he was determined to give order for the release of this ship.

Att which, the landtzhere, the vice admiral, and the magistrates, all then present with Whitelocke, seemed exceedingly pleased, and gave him many thankes for this great favour to them, and to this citty, and his reall respects to her majesty heerby; and with many other complements they parted.

Whitelocke thought this the best way to avoyd difference and disputes with these officers of the queen, and it might be (through their instigation) with the queen herselfe, att his first coming amongst them; butt rather tooke this opportunity

1653. tunity to ingage them to civility to him and his company,
 ~~~~~ and to further his affayres; which was done by them to their  
 Nov. 22. power, and little prejudice was to Whitelocke's superiors.  
 He wrote to captain Foster, that this ship should be restored  
 to the owners; which was done accordingly.

23. Sir John Maclere, a scots merchant, living in this citty  
 (though he had bin of the king's party) yett visited White-  
 locke with much respect, and found his doores and civilities  
 open to him, as they were to all other gentlemen, without  
 distinction of parties or perswasions, or taking any notice  
 of delinquents; providing for his own security.

Nor was he wanting to retorne ceremonies to those from  
 whom he received any. He sent (after the custom) to know  
 if the landtzhere were within, and att leifure to receive a  
 visit; who sent a kind invitation, that he should take it as a  
 great honor to see the english ambassador at his house.

Whitelocke walked thither, not being farre, on foote,  
 about fifty of his gentlemen walking bare before him; some  
 of the first ranke following close after him, his pages and  
 lacquayes after them, and with their swords by their sides.

Att the landtzhere's doore stood centries and a guard of  
 soldiers; he mett Whitelocke att his outer gate, and treated  
 him with much ceremony and courtesy: as soon as they  
 were sett downe, the landtzhere called for wine, and drank  
 freely to Whitelocke and his company; and his people car-  
 ried the wine to all the gentlemen, and to the servants in  
 the antichamber; it was reasonable good rhenish, and store  
 enough of it.



The house was not very fayre nor richly furnished, butt 1653.  
convenient, and most of his attendants were soldiers. ~~~~~  
Amongst other discourse, the landtzhere acquainted White Nov. 23.  
locke, that by letters from the court, he understood the  
queen had some intention to remove to a place called Heskoe,  
seven miles on this side of Upsale; butt of this he said there  
was no certainty, nor would that place be so convenient for  
her majesty's court, and for those who were to resort to her,  
as Upsale was.

Whitelocke had also discourse with this gentleman touch-  
ing the nature of his office of landtzhere, and the authority  
and jurisdiction therof, and the precinct wherein the same was  
exercised by him. And he collected from him, that his  
office had much resemblance, and in effect was the same with  
the office of our high sherifes in England, with the like ministe-  
riall and judicall authority within his territory and precinct,  
which also seemed to be much like unto one of our shires,  
not of the largest sort, in England.

The superintendent of Gothenbergh came to visit White- 24.  
locke with great civility. He is an ecclesiasticall officer,  
differing in name and title, butt not in power and office,  
from a bishop. He hath his name from the duety of his  
place of supervision and superintendency over the clergy,  
and the ecclesiasticall affayres of that diocesse where he is  
placed, and is in effect a bishop by another name. He hath  
the priviledge of being a member of their supream pub-  
lique councill; butt is not to intermeddle with temporall  
affayres or state matters; which is also prohibited to all their  
bishops and clergy.

He spake good latin, and seemed to be a grave and learn-  
ed man. Whitelocke discoursed with him touching the  
X 2 office



1653. office of their bishops and superintendents in their countrey,  
 Nov. 24. and of the profession of religion heer. He informed Whitelocke freely in these matters, that in this place the profession of religion was not so strictly lutheran as in other parts of the kingdome, bicause heer was a liberty permitted to calvenists, and a publique church built and allowed to them; which is no smalle priviledge in this countrey; butt the Swedes are frowned uppon, if any of them looke into the calvin church heer; yett divers of them do frequent it.

That the Swedes generally and devoutly doe adhere to the opinions of Luther, and to the practise of the churches allowed by him; and whosoever differs from them, is not only looked uppon with an evill eye, butt commonly driven from his countrey: yett in this town it is otherwise, and many of their greatest and wisest men have testified their just dislike of this severity, and their inclination to permit a freedome of opinion and conscience, not disturbing the publique peace; for which Whitelocke did freely argue, and the superintendent was not morose in the denyall of it, and that there ought to be persecution for non-conformity, especially in matters of ceremony, where the fundamentalls are acknowledged, and the publique peace not disturbed.

They have pictures and images, and great observation of ceremonies in their churches: their church musique were pleased to visit Whitelocke, and wondered when they saw him and divers of his people to understand their art, and to sing with them, which they thought had bin generally abhorred in England; and were much pleased to find the contrary, butt more with the gratuity by Whitelocke bestowed on them.

Whitelocke kept the superintendent att dinner, and the landtzherr, the vice admiral, colonell Nerne, Sinclere, and the



the major of the military men, the three presidents and the syndick of the civill part, by invitation, dined with him: the superintendent had the first place, the landtzhare against him; then the vice admiral and military officers on the same side, and the presidents and syndick by the superintendent on the other side. They all commended Whitelock's wine, english beer, and provisions: their discourse was generall, most concerning the affayres of England, wherein Whitelocke was able to give them some information; butt was wary of his words in so much company, perticularly in the the buisnes of the warre with Holland: uppon which occasion the landtzhare related a passage of a governor of a port in Norway, not farre from Gothenbergh, who, finding that one of that port had taken a commission from the Hollanders as a private man of warre, and by colour therof had brought thither a scottish ship as prize; the governor released the scottish ship, and imprisoned the private man of warre; which action Whitelocke commended as just and honorable in the governor, and in the king of Denmarke to give him such instructions; butt Thyfen said nothing to it.

1653.

Nov. 24.

They sate long att dinner as they use to doe att intertainements; and this was none of the meanest they had bin att. By Whitelocke's order, his officers had provided the best meate that the town would afforde, whereof they eate freely; and of his sacke and claret they dranke more freely, butt no healths; yett made it darke before they rose from table, and tooke their leaves with many thanks and complements.

This day the people of the town kept a day of publique thanksgiving to God, for the great plenty of corne and other provisions which had bin given them the last yeare, as they use to doe uppon like occasions, and observe these days very

25-



1653. very strictly and devoutly; all shutting up their shops and  
 ~~~~~ resorting to their parish churches: and after the evening  
 Nov. 25. sermon, which is ended early, Whitelocke in his usuall
 equipage walked forth in the town, where he had the more
 view of the people, being abroad, and keeping it as an
 holy day; and as he passed by any of them, he was saluted
 with much respect and great civility, which he was not
 slacke to answer.

This farewell letter was sent to Whitelocke by captain
 Foster.

For his Excellence the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke. These.

“ MY LORD,

“ In obedience to your commaunds, I have issued forth
 “ an order for the surrender of the Elizabeth prize to the
 “ owner, &c. Since my last, being att Gothenbergh, we
 “ have had very tempestuous weather, with such frets of
 “ weather in twenty howers time att all the points of the
 “ compass, that two of our anchors each of 1600 lb.
 “ weight have had much adoe, with new cables, to hold
 “ our frigotts. I cannot butt admire the goodnes of our
 “ God, in giving your excellence a safe voyage. I rest as
 “ fured, my lord, that this, with that wellcome newes from
 “ your lady, is, and will remaine as a signal testimony of
 “ the Lord's eminent appearance with you, and for you,
 “ in all your undertakings. And although, peradventure,
 “ the weighty affayres your excellence is now imployed
 “ about in the behalfe of your nation, may att some time
 “ (seemingly) have a vaile of intricacy uppon them, inter-
 “ mixt with dubious feare of desired successe; yett rest as-
 “ fured (deare sir) that the eternall Power will owne and
 “ honor

“honor you with the full accomplishment of your desires; 1653.
 “seeing you have so freely parted with all that’s deare unto
 “you (as to externalls) exposing yourselfe to the stormy Nov. 25.
 “winter blasts att sea, and the many unknown difficulties
 “that attend these barren rocky countreyes, for unparalleled
 “service for your countrey. Not only this, butt future
 “ages will have cause to honor the memory of your name,
 “and faithfull services.

Phoenix frigott,
 Nov. 24, 1653.

“Your lordship’s most humble servant,

“NICHOLAS FOSTER.”

The wind continued very high, and wholly contrary to
 captain Foster’s course for England, so that he was inforced
 to continue in this harbour of Gothenbergh; the descrip-
 tion wherof Whitelocke, having a little leifure, sett downe
 whilest it was in his memory. 26.

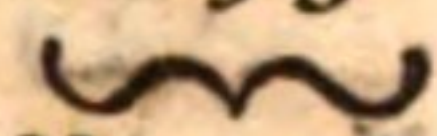
The comming to this harbour is very difficult and daun-
 gerous, especially for strangers, who use to passe the Riffe,
 spoken of before; and if one fall uppon a shallow part of
 it (wherof there are many and hardly to be avoyded with-
 out a good pilote) ’tis very perilous; from thence they
 must double the Skaw, which is the point of Jutland, and
 from thence beare their course to the coast of Norway,
 which is full of terrible rockes, neer which they must passe;
 and so by a constant strong current of water from the
Baltique sea through the Sound, which makes the crossing
 of it very difficulte, and the passage to the haven is not
 discovered till one comes very neer to it: the passage itselfe
 is so straight, that without good pilots the ship can hardly
 escape the rockes from splitting on them, there not being
 much more then twice the length of a ship between the
 rockes in some streights, for the ship’s passage.

About:

1653. About a league within the harbour, a new fort was
 Nov. 26. built, where the passage is not above a musket shot in
 breadth; and in the midst of that narrow passage is a
 rocke, two or three foot under water, uppon which divers
 ships have bin lost, and one of Gothenbergh a little before
 Whitelocke's comming thither: heer the ship must goe close
 by the new fort, which fully commaunds the entry into the
 haven; and although the fort be smalle, yett it is strong
 and regular. A little beyond it the ships come into an open
 wide water, about the extent of an english mile, incom-
 passed with high and huge rockes, where a great number of
 ships, and of the greatest burden, may safely ride, defend-
 ed from the winds by the rockes and shoare on all sides;
 and it is of a great depth. This is about a swedish mile
 (that is, seven english miles) from the sea; and att the fur-
 ther end of this broad water, the haven growes narrower,
 not above a quarter of an english mile in breadth.

There stands a castle on the east side, which commaunds
 the entrance into the river; the castle is not great, butt
 strongly situated on a rocke, and well fortifyed and pro-
 vided; this was knowne by some of our countrey men, who,
 in king James's time, served under the lord Willoughby
 (afterwards earl of Lyndsey) in assistance of the king of
 Denmarke, to besiege it, butt were repulsed.

The river from the castle to the towne is narrow, and
 about three english miles in length; in all which way it is
 very deepe, and is good harbour for ships of the greatest
 burden, where they ride safely. In this part of the river
 lay many of the queen's men of warre, among them a
 fayre and well built ship, called the Hercules, carrying
 threescore pieces of brasse ordinance; her captain was the
 vice admiral Thyssen: she seemed fitter for a defence in
 fight

fight than for an assaylant, or for fleetnes, more bulkye 1653.
 then nimble, much unlike our english frigotts, yett greatly 
 esteemed there. Nov. 26.

Heer lay also many swedish marchantment, being neer the town, and butt a short passage for carrying and recarrying, by boates, and small vessels, of goods between the towne and the ships. Att the hither end of the town is a pretty little house of the queen's, uppon the river, which is not fortifyed, yett hath some great gunnes planted about it.

Being the Lord's day, yett these people (as is too usuall 27.
 with them) presented verses to Whitelocke in print, with a large dedication, which being very many in number, and having more designe of begging, then of ingenuity; he sent the expected reward, and layd them by.

The vice admiral, and other officers of the queen, wherof some were of the towne, came to Whitelocke, and informed him, that captain Welch had taken two Holland marchantmen, and brought them into her majesty's port heer, contrary to her orders; and they desired, that Whitelocke would send for the captain, and admonish him about it, and discharge these ships which he had thus injurioufly taken.

Whitelocke answered, that he would inquire how the buisnes was, and doe that which should be fitt in it; and uppon examination of the matter he found, that after Whitelocke was come on shoare, Welch putt out to sea agayne, and mett with two holland ships riding att the Skaw, the one of them being of 400 tuns burden; yett Welch being well manned, and provided for fight, he des-

1653. perately sett upon this ship, and boarded her: she made
 Nov. 27. no resistance, butt was thus taken by him. Then he fell
 upon the other holland ship, being about 350 tuns bur-
 den, and clapt her on board likewise; and thus seised
 upon both of them, being loaded with wheate, rye, wool,
 and planks: and being thus posselt of these prizes, he
 would faine have gone with them directly for England, butt
 the wind being contrary, and the weather very tempestu-
 ous, he was forced, for safety, to come into this harbour;
 butt kept himselfe without the command of the forts, and
 rode as under Whitelocke's flagge, and as one of his fleet.

This being the state of the matter, Whitelocke sent to
 the vice admiral to acquaint him therewith, and to tell him,
 that Whitelocke thought it neither appertained to him as
 ambassador, or commander of the english ships heer, nor
 to any of the queen's officers, to intermeddle in this buis-
 nes of captain Welch; neither did he believe, that the
 queen's harbours would be denyed to any Englishman, who
 had commission by authority of the parlement (as Welch
 had) or was part of the english ambassador's fleet (as he
 was) to come into them, and to shelter himselfe from the
 daunger of stormes; that the buisnes was done upon the
 high sea, and between the English and Dutch, who were
 now in actuall warre; and, therefore, the taking of their
 ships by Welch, Whitelocke thought very justifiable; and
 that he was not obliged to give a further account therof to
 any whatsoever, nor to reprove the captain for what he
 had done, nor to release the holland ships by him taken;
 butt rather to commend his mettle and good service, and
 to encourage him.

With this message from Whitelocke, the vice admiral
 seemed much offended; butt knew not which way to help
 his

his countrymen ; butt endeavoured afterwards to doe som- 1653.
what further on their behalfe.

Nov. 27.

Whitelocke began to grow weary of his stay in this place, and earnestly desired to be in the way of proceeding in his buisnes ; and being now certainly informed, that the queen was att Upsale, and purposed to reside there all this winter ; he, theruppon, resolved to begin his journey from hence the next Wednesday, and to keep in the direct way to Upsale ; hoping, within two or three days journey, he might meet with Berkman, and with his own servants, uppon the way, in their returne from the court.

In pursuance of this resolution, he gave order to his officers to prepare, and gett all things in readines for his journey ; and appointed the gentleman of his horse, with some others of his servants, to goe the next day to the landtzhere to have his advice and assistance for the procuring of horses, waggons, and accomodations for his land journey : which the landtzhere very readily promised to doe, and to send out his warrants for that purpose.

He appointed them likewise to goe to the syndick, and with him to the president's, to advise about the same buisnes ; and they all expressed very great forwardnes to assist Whitelocke in this buisnes, and to doe all the service in their power ; and conferring with his officers, they concluded, that it would be necessary for warrants to be sent out into the countrey, to bring in to this town, on Wednesday morning, by breake of day, 100 saddle horses, and 100 waggons, for the remove of Whitelocke, and his company, and carryages ; and therof they certefyed the landtzhere.

Y 2 The

1653. The magistrates of this citty presented to Whitelocke a
 Nov. 28.  supplicatory letter in latin, under their common seale,
 touching a ship of this town, taken by an english man of
 warre, and detained as prize in England.

The letter was thus superferibed :

“ Illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino domino Bul-
 strode Whitelocke, &c.

Gothoburgh,
 Nov. 28th,
 1653.

“ Ex^{ra}. v^{ra}. addictissimi, burgravius,
 “ præfides, et senatores, civitatis
 “ Gothoburgensis.”

“ To the most illustrious, and most excellent lord, the
 “ lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle
 “ of Winsor, and one of the lords keepers of the
 “ great seale, and extraordinary ambassador of the
 “ common-wealth of England to the most serene
 “ queen of Sweden, our most courteous lord.”

The letter sett forth, that the ship belonged to this towne,
 and ought not to be taken, or detained as prize ; and they
 intreat Whitelocke's assistance, and mediations to his supe-
 riors in England, for the discharge of her, and subscribe

“ Most addicted to your excellence,
 “ the burgrave, presidents, and sena-
 “ tors of the citty of Gothenbergh.”

Whitelocke finding in the letters an acknowledgement of
 the common-wealth of England, and of their ambassador,
 was the more willing to give them a fayre answer ; and

understanding by their letter, that the buisnes had received former agitation in England, butt without such successe as was expected; he was the more wary how farre to ingage therin; butt showed all respect to the magistrates who brought the letter, and assured them, that he would acquaint his superiors with the great civilities he (as their servant) had received from this citty, and wherby they gave testimony of their high respect to the common-wealth of England, which he would improve to the best advantage he could, for the service of this citty; and according to their desires, would effectually endeavor with the councell of state in England, on the behalfe of the cittizens of this citty, in the buisnes mentioned in their letter; with which answear the magistrates went away well contented.

1653.

Nov. 28.

Whitelocke, putt in mind by their comming, and having a little leisure, sett downe the description of the town of Gothenbergh, with its fortifications, and both military and politicall state.

“ This citty is commodiously situated for commerce, and better then any other port-towne of Sweden; in regard, ships are not forced to goe through the Sound, and to pay the gabells therof, to come unto their trade; and it is not above nine or ten english miles from the main sea.

“ It stands uppon a river which separates *Gothland* from *Norwey*, and is divided into severall armes and braunches, which goe through every street of the citty; and are of great benefit to the inhabitants, serving every one for the loading and unloading of his goods att his own doore. It hath convenient bridges (though of firre) for the passage of people, horses, and waggons, over every water.

“ *Norwey*

1653. ^{Nov. 28.} “ Norway is very neer this town, the finalle river only parting it ; from whence (and much of it by this river, which is a long way navigable) come downe goodly mafts for ships, deales, pitch, and tarre, in great abundance ; and also from the cuntryes belonging to Sweden on the other side of the river, which reacheth high into the land ; where also it is navigable for great boates : so that the commodities from both sides of it are easily, and with little charge, brought to this citty ; nor are these waters so soon frozen in this river as others are.

“ There is this inconvenience of the river ; that about a dayes journey above the town, is a great and strange fall of the water, so fierce and deep, that no vessell can passe it ; butt all goods brought thither must be unloaded above, and loaden againe below this fall.

“ About thirty years since, the town was poor and considerable, nor frequented by marchants, or capable by buildings to receive them ; butt king Gustavus Adolphus, observing the commodiousnes of the haven, and the scituation for traffique, especially for avoyding the king of Denmarke’s impositions through the Sound ; he graunted great *priviledges* and immunities for twenty-one years, to all those, as well strangers as his own subjects, who would seate themselves in that place ; by which means, divers high and low Dutch, Scotts, and others, as well as Swedes, have built this town, and made many fayre houses of bricke, which yett seem not to be very substantiall ; perhaps by reason, that the *priviledges* were of no longer continuance : butt this citty is now fayrly built for the most part of it, and full of trade, and people, though it be not very large.

“ It

“ It is well provided for *churches*, having two fayre ones new built for the Lutherans, and another for the Dutch and Calvenists, which is no smalle priviledge in those parts ; it is well served with all sorts of commodities, and with good provisions, having the sea open. 1653. Nov. 28.

“ The *gouvernement* of the citty is by three presidents, wherof one yearly, by turne, is *burgh-master*, like our majors, the *syndick* as our recorders, and a *councell* composed of twelve elected cittizens, in the nature of our aldermen.

“ This citty is strong, and well *fortefyed* with workes of earth cast up, and large ditches of water, where the rockes will permit ; the other parts of it are stronger, and more inaccessible by the rockes, which are difficulte for one to passe, and climbe to view them.

“ The bullwarkes are strong and regular, as the lines are, and planted with store of brasse cannon ; besides which, the naturall situation att the foot of a mountaine of rockes, which make part of their workes, and deep grafts, doe render the place of great strength.

“ A regiment of foot of about 1200 men is quartered in the town, under the queen's pay, which, in their habits and persons, are not unlike the english *infantry* ; these, with the trained men of the citty, which make up a considerable number of about 4000, are the garrison of the citty, and are all commaunded by the landtzhere.

“ Neer the town is a very great high rocke, on which is a little grove of firre trees, and other trees ; and from thence, a lovely prospect on one side of the towne, and likewise

1653. likewise into Denmarke and Norway, both within a mile of
 this town, parted by the river. Their great guns are all
 of *copper*, butt are not very large, yett not the lesse use-
 full. The name Gothenbergh, signifies the fortresse, or
 defence of the Gothes; and it is the first town of Gothland
 towards England, and the boundary this way of that antient
 kingdome."

Nov. 28.

Whitelocke's people were buisy in preparation for their journey. The landtzhere sent forth his warrants into the countrey for 100 saddle horses, and 100 waggons, to be brought in by brake of day to Whitelocke's lodging; and the inferior officers, hoping for a gratuity for their pains, were the more diligent to execute them: and their order is so good, and the peoples obedience so exact, that the commands are not disputed, butt a short warning (as this was) is most readily and punctually obeyed.

The reason why so many waggons were warned in, was bicause of the smalleness of them, and the great quantity of baggage and provision, which Whitelocke was necessarily to carry with him in his journey, in a forein countrey, not well inhabited, so many hundreds of miles as he was to goe, and for his accomodations when he came to be settled; and heerin he was advised by the magistrates and syndick and others of this place.

Lieutenant collonel Synclere, who had bin very civill, and officious heer to Whitelocke, obtained his letters to collonel Overton, commaunder of the parlement's forces in Scotland, to shew favour to Synclere's brother there, and was very full of thankfullnes for it.

Some

Some of Welch's men coming to town, were stayed by the procurement of the vice admiral, and brought before the landtzhare, who having examined them, was pressed by Thyfen to imprison them; butt having more discretion and civility then Thyfen, he did not committ them, butt sent his major to Whitelocke, to know if he did own captain Welch. Whitelocke answered, "that he did own captain Welch as an englishman, and one of his fleet, and now rode under his flagge; and who (as he believed) had a command as a private man of war, by authority of the parliament of England: and Whitelocke desired the landtzhare not to doe any thing in relation to captain Welch, or any of his men, wherby to injure the right or honor of the common-wealth of England, or to interrupt the intended propofalls of amitie between them and the crown of Sweden, which he believed would not be well taken by the queen; that he, being obliged to the landtzhare for his civilities, thought fitt to give him this friendly caution in this buisness."

1653.
Nov. 29.

This answer being returned to the landtzhare, Thyfen's plot was spoyled; and, to his great regret, Welch's men were presently dismissed.

Whitelocke, by letters, gave an account to the councill in England of all passages heere, of his dismission of their ships 18th November, and their being still detained by contrary winds; of the buisnes of captain Welch; of his letters to prince Adolphe, and the chancellor, wherof he inclosed coppies, and of the letter of this town to him about their ship detained as prize in England: of the great respect and civilities of the magistrates heer to the common-wealth, and to their servant; uppon which he moved the discharge of their ship, wherby he should have the

1653. more reputation in this countrey, and be the better enabled
 Nov. 29. to doe them service; of his intention of removall from
 hence, &c.

In the evening, he ordered his steward to call for bills of his expences heer, and found them unreasonably high and deare; and the host's demands (like the Persian lawes) unalterable, he highly resenting the least question of the smallest sum of his reckoning, his great priviledge of cheating his guests; and to be fully satisfied in his imperious demaunds was not all, his wife must be likewise contented, and a gratuity presented to her according to the quality of the guest, and the time of his stay. An ambaffador is most to be coufened by this Dutchman and others, and so was Whitelocke heer; yett his present to Mrs. Hostess was 20 ricks dollers, which was not over gratefully, nor without some disdaine, received.

He ordered his steward to see all the carryages loaded as soon as the waggons came in; and the gentleman of his horse, to see all in his charge in readyness.

30. Whitelocke gave to Noble, master of the Adventure, a certificate that he had performed his voyage.

Early in the morning were come to Whitelocke's doore 100 waggons out of the countrey; they were with four wheelles, very smalle, and drawn by one horse a-piece, or by two beasts or coves on breast; they will not hold above one large tronke, or two little ones, in a waggon; they drive slowly, and the more slowly, bicause many of their waggoners be women. There were also brought in by the countrey 100 saddle horses, which are smalle, and hard trotters; wherof one may be the more sensible, by reason
 6 of

of their *saddles*, which are large, almost like the french ^{1653.} *saddles* for size and shape, butt farre different for ease: they ^{Nov. 30.} are made of wood, without any cover or stuffing, neither cloth, nor leather, nor any thing upon them, butt he that strides the bare wood; yett they are so well made, that in riding they doe not prove so hard as one would feare them to be.

Their *bitts* generally are a piece of a ram's horne, and their *bridle*, a smalle hempen rope; their *stirrop*, a withe writhed together; and better could not be had, this being the equipage of that countrey, which did not afford better, and therefore these must content.

There was much confusion about the choice of horses, and loading the waggons, till Whitelocke gave directions therin to the gentleman of his horse, which were obeyed, and more quiet infued. And as soon as the waggons were loaded, he appointed them to be sent away, with some of his servants to attend them, whom he ordered to be constantly with them, some between every division of the waggons; and the gentleman of his horse to bring up the reare of his trayne. His quarter-master, cookes, and butlers, were sent before to make provision at the dorpe, where he intended to lodge this night.

After the waggons were gone, the superintendent, the landtzherr, the magistrates, vice admiral, and military officers of the town, came to Whitelocke to take their leaves of him, which was done with much respect and ceremony. The first president spake in latin to Whitelocke, which in the English was to this effect:

1653.

Nov. 30.

“ Most excellent lord ambaffador,

“ The citty of Gothenbergh, whose fervants we are, in-
 “ treat your excellence to excuse your ill reception, and
 “ want of accomodations in this place; for which we are
 “ heartily forry, and doe acknowledge, that if her most
 “ ferene majesty, our gracious queen, should be acquainted
 “ therewith, that she would be offended att it; butt we
 “ hope your excellence will be pleased (if there shall be
 “ occasion) to testify our readines in obedience to her
 “ majesty’s commaunds, to manifest all honor and respect
 “ to the free common-wealth of England, and to your ex-
 “ cellence, their most noble and great ambaffador, whose
 “ gallant demeanor, wisdom, and affability, hath so farre
 “ woone uppon the magistrates and people of this town,
 “ that they shall ever be your excellence’s most faithfull
 “ fervants and honorers; and heartily wish you a safe and
 “ prosperous journey, and successe in all your under-
 “ takings.”

To this Whitelocke answered in latin, the english wherof
 was to this effect:

“ Most honored gentlemen,

“ I returne my hearty thanks to you, for your great
 “ respects and civilities to me, and my company, during
 “ our abode with you, wherof I shall acquaint her majesty,
 “ and desire her to take notice of it, as a duety to her
 “ commaunds, and a respect to those whom she was pleased
 “ to have respected. I shall also acquaint my superiors
 “ heerwith, who will take the respects done to their ser-
 “ vant (as it was) as done to themselves. I wish this noble
 “ citty all prosperity, and to my capacity shall be ready
 “ to doe them service.”

This

This company being gone, it was time to gett on horse-^{1653.}
 backe.. Whitelocke mounted upon his best horse, of ex-^{Nov. 30.}
 cellent shape and mettle ; he had a rich saddle and pistols,
 himselfe habited in plaine grey english cloth ; his other
 stoned horse, being also very beautifull, and with a rich
 saddle and pistols, was ledd leere : the rest of his english
 horses, besides those which the groomes rode, were mount-
 ed by his gentlemen, as many as there were horses for ;
 the rest of his gentlemen and people rode upon the swe-
 dish horses, so accoutred as before, and all had swords and
 pistols..

After the horsemen came Whitelocke's travayling coach,
 being of blew velvet, with blew filke, and silver fringe,
 and richly gilded ; it would hold eight persons, and was
 drawne by fixe bay english stoned horses, of a good size for
 travayle, and very handsome ; and two more of the same
 sett of coach horses were ledd by leere, for a supply if there
 should be occasion : in this coach he ordered Mr. Ingelo to
 ride, being sickly, and collonel Potley, who was unweildy
 to ride on horseback..

Last of all came the best coach of crimson velvet, very
 richly imbroydered with filke, and gilded, which cost
 above 400l. it was large enough to hold ten persons. It
 was drawne by fixe blacke english stoned horses, large and
 very handsome, and two horses more of the same sett were
 ledde by leere, if any of the other should fayle, to supply
 them : this coach he ordered to be drawne empty, and in
 the way they covered it. With the coaches went the
 groomes, which did not waite on Whitelocke's person ; and
 his lacquayes went by his horse side.

With

1653. With Whitelocke rode the landtzhære, and the vice admiral, collonel Nerne, Synclere, the major, and other military officers, who accompanied Whitelocke on horseback part of his way.

Nov. 30.

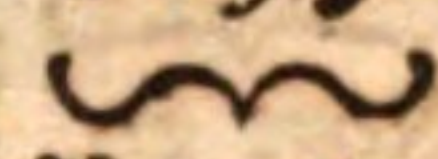
The cittyzens putt themselves in armes to the number of above 2000, with *musketts* only, being in a garryson; they and their officers appeared in their own persons, proper men and gallantly habited, and armed, and many of them had served in the warres abroad. They drew up in several divisions in the market-place, and as Whitelocke rode through them, they saluted him with great civility, and with loud volleys of their shott.

Att the workes were the garryson foldiers, about 1200, all armed likewise with musketts only, and swords, as the cittyzens were, butt of another mienne and habit; they saluted Whitelocke with rownd volleys of smalle shot as he passed by them.

From the bullwarkes the cannoniers bid him adieu, with discharging all their great gunnes, which roared a great while; and some of their complementall bullets came very neer to Whitelocke as he rode, butt, he supposed, not directed att him.

When he was come about an english mile from Gothenbergh, the landtzhære, and other officers, tooke their leaves of him, and they parted with many complements; the syndick, by appointment of the magistrates, did attend him throughout his journey, to take care of his accommodations.

After

After these gentlemen were gone, Whitelocke tooke his 1653.
 coach for travayle. The way was rough and stony, and in  Nov. 30.
 some places were deep *precipices* from the rockes; the
 bridges and wayes had bin newly repayred, by the queen's
 commaunds to the governors through whose precincts he
 was to passe. The countrey is very stony, uneven, and
 barren; att every quarter of a swedish mile a post is sett
 up, and in some places great stones, after the manner of
 the Romans, whose phrase was quot lapides? how many
 stones is it? for how many miles.

When they were come one swedish mile, which is a *stage*,
 there were fresh horses and waggons ready, summoned in
 by warrants; the pay of a horse is about 3 d. of our money
 for a swedish mile, and the hire of a waggon about three
 times the rate of a horse; and the countrey people take the
 care of bringing back their own horses and waggons from
 every stage: and it is very difficult to perswade the *boores*
 to goe one step further then one stage; and they will have
 their money before hand for every stage, before they sett
 forward.

When they had changed their horses and waggons, they
 went on their journey, and travayled this day two swedish
 miles, or leagues, which is about fourteen english miles;
 and was a great journey att this time of the yeare, the
 dayes being butt about four howers in length of day-light:
 and Whitelocke came not to his quarters till above an
 hower after it was darke, and his waggons two howers
 after him.

His lodging was taken up att a little dorpe or village,
 called Leerum, which was very meane: himselfe lay in his
 field bedde, most of his people in strawe; the meate was
 not

1653. not good, the beere worse, exceeding strong and thicke ;
Nov. 30. their best refreshment was lusty fires, and their own cheer-
fullnes, which Whitelocke increased what he could.

Mr. Berkman made great speed to returne from the court to meet Whitelocke, and to conduct him to the queen, according to her commaunds: he rode in 15 days neer 400 miles english; and this night, meeting Whitelocke att Leerum, he delivered to him his message and complements from the queen.

He told Whitelocke, that as soon as he came to court he was admitted to her presence, who longed to discourse with him about the english ambassador, and sayd, she hoped he was well arrived, bicause of Berkman's comming to her, who acquainted her, that the ambassador was well arrived att Gothenbergh: the queen sayd, she was extreame glad of it, and thought herselfe much honored by the parlement of England in sending such an ambassador to her; of whose person and honor she had heard much commendation, and of his quality, and favour with the general Cromwell, which was a testimony of the greater respect in sending him to her; and she tooke it kindly from Whitelocke to undertake such a long and dangerous voyage to see her; that she was only sorry she could not receive him att Upsale with that respect which she intended, and as att Stockholme, where she could have given him better intertainment; butt wheresoever she was, she said the ambassador should be wellcome to her.

Berkman said further, that the queen inquired of him touching all particulars, of himselfe, his person, discourse, family, trayne, and equipage; that she had ordered a house for him in Upsale, att her own charge, and furnished with
her

her own furniture : and she commaunded Berkman speedily 1653.
to returne to waite on Whitelocke, and to see that he should 
want no accomodations in his journey. Nov. 30.

Whitelocke told Berkman, that the common-wealth, whom he served, were much obliged to the queen for her great favours to their servant, who was, in his own particular, highly ingaged to her majesty, and hoped shortly, (through the blessing of God) to have opportunity to acknowledge it, with all thankfullnes, to her majestyes person ; that he was also much obliged to Berkman for his extraordinary care and paines in this long journey he had taken, and for affording Whitelocke his good company att sea, and now, in his journey, assisting him for his accomodations : for all which he promised to be gratefull to Berkman, who was well pleased with that word ; and so they went to their bad quarters.

D E C E M B E R.

1653. **T**HE countrey being commaunded by their officers, came
 Dec. 1. in heer early this morning, and att every stage, which
 is commonly a fwedish mile, with fresh horses and waggons;
 and there being much trouble in the taking of horses, and the
 unloading and loading of waggons, and payment of the
 boores, Whitelocke intreated Mr. Berkman and the syndick
 of Gothenbergh to take upon them the care of that buis-
 nes, and to appoint some fwede to see to the unloading and
 loading of the waggons, and to the taking and paying them,
 and for the waggons and horses, which they readily under-
 tooke; and therby saved much trouble to Whitelocke's
 people.

Whitelocke was informed, that not farre from part of this
 dayes journey lay Sconenland, part of the dominion of the
 king of Denmarke, and the chiefe town (sometimes the me-
 tropolis) of that countrey was called Lunenders, which was
 an archbishop's see; and from that towne, they fancy that
 the name of London was given to our metropolis by the
 Saxons and northerne people, who came some of them out
 of these parts: but heerof will be larger mention, and the
 mistake shewn elsewhere as there shall be occasion.

The countrey through which they travayled this day, was
 of the same nature as the day before; only towards the end
 of the journey, somewhat more plaine and fruitfull. He
 travayled this day two fwedish miles to a markett towne
 (though a poor one) called Allingsees, where the quarter
 was

was somewhat better then the night before, butt the people
very exacting.

1653.

Dec. 1.

This day's journey was through a better countrey and
wayes then before: they were much troubled to gett car-
ryages; butt the gentleman of the horse, and Mr. Berke-
man, and the fyndick tooke great paynes about Whitelocke's
buisnes; so did a swede, whom the fyndick brought with him,
and was well payd for it but no more imployed, having
bin discovered to advise the host to rayse the reckoning, and
himselſe to have a share in it. 2.

Their quarter this night was att a dorpe called Shifda;
the journey a swedish mile and three quarters: their provi-
sions heer little else butt leane beefe, boiled, roasted, broyled,
and stewed; att which others were more apt to find fault
than Whitelocke, who knew that his servants would have
gott better if it could have bin had: butt he was whispered,
that this beefe was of a rotten cow that dyed in a ditch, and
that other provision could not be gotten heer. Whitelocke
charged them not to speake of it, and to those that knew it
not, it went downe favourly, to good stomacks in cold weather
after a long journey; he discovered it not, butt eate of it
as well as the rest, and made mirth of it afterwards.

His own lodging was in his field bedde; his people's up-
pon fresh strawe.

They had a very long journey of three swedish leagues and
a quarter, above twenty english miles, and daylight very
short; the countrey was barren and stony, butt the wayes
well mended; the weather was extreame cold, and hard
frost, so that one of Whitelocke's pages, Hen. Elsing, by
chance or play, having a fall in the house, did breake his

1653. arme, as seldome any in the frosty weather had a fall without
 ~~~~~ the breach of some limbe. Dr. Whistler, who had good expe-  
 Dec. 3. rience and skill in chirurgery as well as physick, heer gave  
 the first tryall of his skill, sett the pages arme very well, so  
 that by boulders, and ordering of him, he was able to in-  
 dure riding in the coach; and rather chose to indure much  
 payne than to stay behind his master, whom he saw so tender  
 and carefull of him, and of all his fellow servants.

The quarter this night was att a dorpe, called by them  
 Wonga, extreame bad, and more beefe (suspected of kinne  
 to the last) then any other meate, and whether that dyett,  
 or the hard and cold journey might occasion it, was uncer-  
 taine (butt the doctor, who knew the dyett, layd it upon  
 that) Whitelocke was exceeding ill and feaverish; butt he  
 tooke somthing that did him good, through the mercy of  
 God, who gave him recovery of his health; and he in-  
 deavoured to cheer himselfe and his company in their  
 hardships.

4. The quarters having bin so bad the last two nights, and  
 Whitelocke himselfe and others of his company having bin  
 very ill, and fearing that the snow might fall and hinder his  
 journey; he was advised, and so resolved to goe from  
 Wonga two leagues this day, to a citty called Scara, where  
 he might rest the next day in better quarter, and his people  
 have beddes to lye on; and he hoped that these reasons  
 would excuse his travayling on this day, being the *Lord's*  
*day*; and indeed the provision and lodging was so very bad at  
 Wonga, that he and his people could not have remained there  
 all the *Lord's day* without extreame hazard of their health,  
 and (as some told him) of want of meate for his great  
 company.

By



By the way, Dr. Whistler's man, with a fall from his horse, brake his legge; the doctor saw it well sett agayne by the apothecary; and the man being a civill young man, his master was troubled for him, and so was Whitelocke, and offered to leave the apothecary and a servant to attend him and looke to him, if he would stay att Scara till he were well agayne to travayle; butt the man would by no meanes be perswaded to stay behind in this strange countrey, butt chose rather to indure the greatest payne to goe along with the company: wheruppon the doctor directed a carriage to be made of deale boards, in the fashion of a horse litter, which was ingeniously done; and the man was layd uppon a bedde and straw in this litter, which was carryed between two horses; and every morning sent before with the apothecary and two other men to goe along with it, and att the journeys end, the litter being taken downe, was sett uppon the ground in some roome; and in this posture the poore man, in great torment, was carryed above three hundred miles, and recovered very well agayne, to his master's credit; and was thankfull to God for his goodnes to him.

1653.

Dec. 4.

This night they came to Scara, where their lodging and intertainment was worse then they expected in a citty, a bishop's sea: yett heer all his people had beddes to lye on, such as they were; which was rare to them.

His carryages could not come up to him to Scara this night, butt stayed about a mile behind, in very bad quarter, the gentleman of his horse and others of his servants with them; and the dayes were so very short, that it was hard (especially for carryages) to travayle two miles in one day.

This day Whitelocke rested att Scara, his carryages not being come up to him, and to refresh himselfe, his people and horses, after weary and hard journeys. In the morning he

5.



1653. he visited the cathedrall church, this being a bishop's see; the church is large, and strong built, of the countrey stone, butt not beautifull or curious. Many schollars were with their masters in the church in upper galleries, singing anthems to the organ and sackbutts.

Dec. 5.

Heer he saw a fayre tombe of the baron Soupe, who, in the german warres, rescued the king Gustavus Adolphus from being taken prisoner; which is ingraven on his monument to his honor.

In the quire are many pictures of saints and other images; and att the east end of it, is a high altar, with a rich carpet of velvet imbroydered with gold, and a stately crucifix uppon it: there are also divers other and lesser crucifixes in severall places of the church and quire. In the vestrey he saw the challices and pixes, with pieces of the wafers in them; and none could see a difference betwixt this and the papists churches.

From the church Whitelocke went to the free-schoole hard by, which is a large roome, and in it between three and four hundred schollers, and some of them at the upper end with great beards, of thirty years of age, yett as subject to the rodde's correction if they offend, as the young boyes among whom they sitt. It caused smiling to see the disproportion and gravity of these schollers in respect of the other; many of them are choristers, and did in the school make the same vocall musick as in the church, lowder than ordinary, butt not sweeter or more skilfull.

This is called a citty, bicause it is a bishop's see, and is very antient, though probably short of that which the schoolmaster affirmed. "That a Goth, a servant to Abraham, married one of Sarah's maides, and brought into his own country;



countrey; and being growne rich, he built a citty in this place, and gave his wife the naming of it, who, in honor of her mistris, called it Sarah; and by the people's rough pronounciation is now called Scara." 1653.  
Dec. 5.

Others (and as probably) derive the name of it from the swedish word Schire or Schare, which with them signifies a territory or province; and that this being the head citty of the territory about it, was therefore called as the schire town Schara; and from this Gothique word Schire, some derivation may be of our English word Shire, antiently written also Schire, for a territory or countrey.

This town seems to have bin very antient, especially by the buildings, which are in much decay, though large; they are of timber after the fashion of that countrey.

It hath no river nor way of commerce for the enriching of it; and though it be as the bishop's residence sometimes, there can be no great advantage of profit to the citty, if (as is affirmed) his revenue there be not above forty rick dollers, that is ten pounds a yeare.

The people are generally very poore, and divers of them very churlish: the citty stands in a pleasant fertile countrey, and hath bin large, and (as they report) considerable.

The minister and schoolmaster heer spake latin, butt not elegantly, hardly truely; yett they venturd att it in discourse with Whitelocke, who invited them to his table, and civilly treated them. Nor doe the schollers much profit in the latin tounge, as may appeare by their petitory epistle, which this evening they presented to Whitelocke in these words:

“ Salutem



1653.

Dec. 5.

“ Salutem et Dei benedictionem.

“ Generosissime, serenissime, atq; nobilissime domine prin-  
 “ ceps, te celeberrimæ regione nimirum Angliæ natus, quem  
 “ celeritatem Deus ter. opt. max. una cum suo pio et laudabili  
 “ comitatu benigne tam in aditu quam reditu custodire atq;  
 “ benedicere dignetur. Siquidem Deo omnipotenti suo pla-  
 “ cida atq; divina voluntate placuit, nobis præsentibus in  
 “ primæ nostræ infantia parentibus privare: et interim quæ  
 “ nobis necessaria atq; ad sustentationem vitas spectant, à  
 “ piis atq; probis hominibus quærenda sunt; quapropter ad  
 “ serenissimum atq; generosissimum principem nostræ est de-  
 “ vota atq; humillima petitio, ut nobis aliquid pecuniæ be-  
 “ nigne dare dignetur.

“ Deus omnipotens omnium beneficiorum retributor atq;  
 “ benefactor est, cujus protectionis V. S. cum toto suo comi-  
 “ tatu commendare volumus.”

The english wherof may be thus guessed at.

“ Health and the blessing of God.

“ Most generous, most serene, and most noble lord and  
 “ prince, who is borne in the most famous country, to wit,  
 “ England, to whom God the most good and great, merci-  
 “ fully vouchsafe to keep and blesse, with his pious and  
 “ commendable company, as well in their comming hither as  
 “ in their departure. Wheras it pleased God Almighty, in  
 “ his pleasure and divine will, to deprive us who are heer  
 “ present of our parents in our first infancy, and in the  
 “ meane while those things that were necessary for us, and  
 “ pertained to the sustenance of our lives, were to be sought  
 “ by us from godly and honest men:

“ Wherefore



“ Wherefore our devoute and most humble petition is, to  
 “ the most serene and most generous prince, that he would  
 “ courteously vouchsafe to give us some money. Almighty  
 “ God is the rewarder of all benefits, and a benefactor, to  
 “ whose protection we will commend your serenity, and all  
 “ your company.”

1653.

Dec. 5.

They were prodigall enough in their titles, hoping to procure the more liberality from him who little esteemed them ; yett gave a reward to the presenters of this epistle, who acknowledged it to have bin corrected by their master : and Whitelocke wondered, that in a free publique schoole, in a citty which was a bishop's see, they had not better latin, when generally in other places, the noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates, and officers doe write and speak good latin ; butt this town is not an usuall roode, nor much frequented.

Whitelocke ordered the gentleman of his horse, with his company, to goe this evening with the carriages about a mile from this towne forward in the journey, which was long as he intended next day.

This day Whitelocke travelled three swedish miles, the  
 countrey being somewhat plainer then before, yett full of  
 great stones and firr trees, butt little corne land, being  
 entered into the great forest. They came before night to a  
 dorpe called Binebergh, where their lodging and dyett was  
 extream badd, and most of the provision cow leane beefe,  
 cutt out in pieces, and fryed, roasted and boyled ; and as  
 it was heer agayne whispered to Whitelocke, the cow was  
 rotten, and dyed in the field ; butt better food could not be  
 gotten, and this went down with good and keene appetites.

6.



1653. Whitelocke's steward come very late hither, and informed  
 Dec. 6. the occasion of his staying behind to be, that after White-  
 locke was gone from Scara, the steward, and one or two  
 more with him, coming forth to follow their master, they  
 were imprisoned, and the inne doores shutt uppon them,  
 and could not have liberty to come out untill they had payed  
 ten ricks dollers more than the reckoning; and the only  
 reason therof was, bicause the surly host would have it so.

Whitelocke was so incensed heerat, as a breach of his  
 priviledge of ambassador, that he told Berkman and the  
 syndick, he would go no further till he had right against  
 this inne-keeper, and that he would send to the court to ad-  
 vertise the queen of this injury done to him. Butt he was  
 pacified with their information, that the inne-keeper had  
 bin already by the magistrates of the citty severelly punished  
 for his insolence.

The best meate they had in this countrey was porke and  
 bacon, if they could have gott enough of it: their hogges  
 are lesse than those in England, and of a wild kind, and  
 black, feeding most uppon pine apples; their flesh is very  
 sweet and good, butt little of it was heer to be had: nor of  
 their hares, though in most parts they have great plenty of  
 them, and they are moister and larger than those in England:  
 and which could hardly receive credit, butt from those who  
 saw it, as Whitelocke did, and his company, when the snowe  
 comes, the hares change their colour in a short time, and  
 become themselves as white as the snowe; yett, in summer,  
 they change agayne to the ordinary colour of our hares in  
 England.

7. This days journey was five swedish miles, about thirty-five  
 of our english miles; yett seemed the shorter, bicause the



way was very good: the country marvayled att so long a journey taken by strangers, when the days were so short, and the company so great. They passed through huge woods of firre, wherein are said to be great store of wolves and beares.

1653.

Dec. 7.

Heer is melancholly travayling without company; for in most of this countrey hitherto, one shall seldome meet with a crosse way in riding a league or two together; so little commerce is in these parts, and so little daunger of going out of the way, where there is butt one way to travayle in.

In this journey they mett with one extream bad piece of way, on the side of a rocke cutt out by mens hands, not two foot broader than the tracke of his coach: on the right hand was nothing butt craggy huge rockes hanging over them, twenty or thirty fadome to the top of them; and on the left hand of this way was a steep præcipice, fifty or sixty fathome downe to the lake Meler, which was att the foote of it, and no way possible for them to avoyd this tracke, and to goe out of it. Whitelocke caused his people to alight and walke on foote, leading their horses till they were past it, not being a mile in length; and some he causes to walke by the coaches; and had not his coachman and postilions bin their art's masters, and of mettle, they could hardly have bin able to drive a coach in that way: butt God was pleased heer, as in all the journey, to preserve and bleffe Whitelocke and all his company.

This lake Meler appeared as a great and wide sea; and indeed was so, though of fresh water.



1653. The people affirme, that in it are 4444 islands, the least  
 of them above an english mile in compasse, and inhabited.  
 Dec. 7. Certaine it is, that this lake is above 100 english miles in  
 breadth, and the islanders have communication by boates  
 sayling to one another, and to the shoare: their dwellings  
 are not healthfull, being often afflicted with terrible agues,  
 which continue long, and commonly take the people in the  
 spring; and yett most of them (especially to those who are  
 not natives) prove mortall.

Butt on the banks of the lake are many pleasant seates of  
 noblemen and gentlemen, which they say are very health-  
 full, and furnished with abundance of provisions of fish and  
 fowle; and they have great delight in taking of them.

Some of those seates Whitelocke viewed, and found their  
 building to be only of firre timber, the bodyes of great trees  
 squared, and layed one uppon another, keyed together by  
 other great pieces of timber, all sett uppon huge stones  
 about a foot from the ground: between the bodyes of the  
 trees which make the walle of the house, is great store of  
 mosse forced in, like the calking of a ship, which keeps out  
 the sun, and makes the roomes coole in summer, and keeping  
 out the frost and cold aier, makes them the more warme in  
 winter.

The rooffe is of deale boards jointed close together, and layd  
 a little sloaping, uppon which they put pieces of the barke  
 of birch trees to cover it, and the barke they cover with  
 turfe, and lay them as flatt as a rooffe is made with leade;  
 the barke keeps the wett from soaking through the boardes,  
 and beares out the raine and melting of the snowe, and the  
 wett glides down the barke to the eeves, and so falles on the  
 ground; and is not inferiour to any rofe of flatts or tile.

Uppon



Uppon it growes good grasse from the turfes, which invites the sheep and goates to clamber to the toppe of it, and to feed on it, which they may the easier doe, bicause their buildings and stories are generally very lowe, seldome more than two stories in height ; and many of those buildings, almost whole towns together, have no mortar, lime, stone, tile, or bricke in the building of them, except only in their stoves and chimneys.

1653.  
Dec. 7.

Whitelocke's carryages, by reason of some disasters and breaking of waggons, were out all night ; and such was the honesty of the waggoners and countrey people, that in all the journey he lost not any of his goods to the value of sixpence, except a great glasse of tobacco ; and although in one place his iron trunke of money brake, and the halfe crownes, which were money currant there, dropped out, yett were they all againe restored to Whitelocke's servants.

This and the two last days journeys were through the great forest or wilderness called Valterd, which they affirme to be forty leagues, that is 300 English miles in length, and about 70 miles in breadth. Whitelocke was three dayes travayling over the narrowest part of it, and contented with hard quarter, there being only a few hutts or cabarets, butt no dorpes or tounes in all that way.

It is full of goodly firre trees, exceeding tall and streight, and the way broad and sandy ; the trees on each side thicke for many miles together, and smelling of the turpentine, make a most sweet and pleasant walke and riding : great distruction is made of those woods by the inhabitants neer adjoining ; it being a piece of husbandry among them, to burne great quantities of wood standing uppon the ground, and then cast some seed corne among the ashes, without any ploughing

8.



1653. ploughing or other manuring, wherof they have commonly  
 one good crop, and no more : such is their plenty of wood,  
 that very many large timber trees lye and rott uppon the  
 ground, and the inhabitants will not bestow the paines of  
 fetching them away.

There be also in this forest trees which they call birk, that  
 is birch trees, and others which they call aish, that is ashe,  
 others which they call eukes, that is oakes ; from whence it  
 may seem, that we had these names of our trees : butt their  
 oakes are not so solid and hard as ours, nor so fitt for ship-  
 ping ; their oaken planks (as most others in the world)  
 are apt to splinter by a bullet shott into them, which the  
 english oake doth not, nor soake in the waters as oakes of  
 other countryes doe. Their oakes heer are so farre from  
 any navigable river, that they are of little benefit to the  
 countrey.

Their calculation of 20,000 wolves, besides a great  
 number of beares and other wild beasts in this forest, may  
 well be mistaken, those cattle (and in so wide a forest) not  
 being easily to be numbred.

This night their quarter was att a bourgh, called Boderne,  
 where one of Whitelocke's chapleins, Mr. Ingelo, visited  
 the minister's house, a very meane one, and his family in as  
 meane a condition ; his children in torne shirts, and no  
 other clothes uppon them in that bitter cold weather ; and  
 his wife little better furnished : this and sundry the like ob-  
 servations in the journey, may cause our ministers and others  
 to be the more in love with their own countrey.

Heer they had better provisions than in other places ; ex-  
 cellent porke and hares, and a little bird called a yerpen, of  
 bignes



bignes between a partridge and a pidgeon, white and firme  
of flesh, and in tast beyond a partridge for delicacy.

1653.

Dec. 8.

Most of their lodging was in good strawe, which is bigger  
and longer than that in England.

This dayes journey was four leagues and a halfe, still  
through the forest, whose colour, all green with the pines  
and firre trees, would almost perswade a travayler that it  
was another season, did not the bitter colde assure the con-  
trary.

9.

About halfe a mile before the end of the journey, Potly  
in his retorne from court mett Whitelocke on the way, and  
with him came a gentleman of the queen's chamber, well  
habited and fashioned, called Mr. Lyllicrone. Whitelocke  
came forth of his coach to salute him, and the gentleman  
spake to Whitelocke in french to this effect:

That he was sent by the queen to visite Whitelocke on the  
way, to inquire of his health in his journey, to attend him  
to Upsale, and to take care that he should want no accom-  
modations in his journey.

Whitelocke answered, that he hoped ere long to have  
the happines of being in her majestye's presence, to retorne  
his thanks for the great favor and honor she was pleased  
to manifest to him, wherof he should take the first oppor-  
tunity to certefy the parlement; and that his journey would  
be the more pleasant, by the company of so noble a person  
as he was.

The gentleman then told Whitelocke, that prince Adol-  
phe presented his service to him, with these letters, which  
he



1653. he then delivered to Whitelocke, who then opened and  
 ~~~~~ read them \*.

Dec. 9.

* See appendix,
 D.

The letter is thus putt into English.

*To the Most Excellent Ambassador of the Parlement of the
 Common-wealth of England.*

“ Most excellent lord ambassador,

“ The letters were delivered unto me, by which your
 “ excellence was pleased to signify your arrivall att Gothen-
 “ bergh, with a hope of meeting our most serene queen
 “ there, and of performing the duety of the ambassy im-
 “ posed on you ; butt now being frustrate of that hope,
 “ and not knowing where to apply himselfe to the most
 “ serene queen, as his commission and imployment doe re-
 “ quire, he therefore expected to be certefyed from me,
 “ whither he should apply himselfe. That I might satisfy
 “ this desire of your excellence, I acquainted our most
 “ serene queen with that which your excellence did heer-
 “ uppon communicate unto me ; and truely, the comming
 “ of so great an ambassador, and his voyage performed
 “ with so prosperous successe, did affect her most serene
 “ royall majesty with no smalle joy ; and therefore she com-
 “ manded me to take care for the reception of your ex-
 “ cellence, and to certefy you, that you might take your
 “ journey to Upsale : to this end I have sent this gentle-
 “ man, a servant of the court of her most serene majesty,
 “ to meet your excellence, that, he knowing the language,
 “ might guide your journey, and provide things necessary
 “ for it. In the meane time, from the goodnes of your
 “ excellence, I promise myselfe your excuse, if the condi-
 “ tion and state of the places through which you travayle,
 “ will

“ will not admit that intertainement which is fitt for the 1653.
 “ ambaffador of fo great a common-wealth; butt having ^{Dec. 10.}
 “ finished your journey, when your excellence fhall come
 “ to this place, all indeavor will be used, that the incon-
 “ veniences which your excellence hath fuffered in this
 “ journey, may with all kind of honor be repayred. In
 “ the meane time, I wifh your excellence a happy journey.

“ Your excellence’s moft ready to ferve you,

Ubfale, Nov. 28.
 1653.

“ ADOLPHE JOHN,

“ Count Palatin of the Rhine.”

Having read the letters, Whitelocke invited Mr. Lyll-
 crone to take a roome in his coach, butt he excufed it, and
 rode on horfeback. By the way, one of Whitelocke’s gen-
 tlemen, Mr. Caſtle, received a dangerous hurt in his fore-
 head, by the kicke of a horſe, to the great daunger of
 breaking his ſkull; Whitelocke took doctor Whiſtler with
 him, and went to viſit Caſtle att a boores houſe, whither
 he was carryed: there Whitelocke ſaw him dreſt with me-
 dicaments out of his own cabinet, which was alwayes with
 him, putt Mr. Caſtle into one of his coaches, and ſo went
 on to a burgh called Blackſta, where they had reasonable
 good quarter.

This dayes journey was two ſwedifh leagues, to a citty
 called Orſborough, the largeſt town, and beſt quarter,
 which they had hitherto mett with; the houſe where White-
 locke lay was very fine in furniture, the maſter of it being
 wealthy; for he had bin an officer of the crown about the
mines, for the buifnes wherof, and the commerce and diſpoſ-
 ing of the copper, this citty is conveniently ſeated, being

1653. ^{Dec. 10.} neer the mountaines where the mines are, and having the benefit of navigable waters. Before the house was a guard of foldiers, of a company of the queen's regiment of guardes, quartered heer by reason of the sicknes att Stockholme; some of these foldiers were placed att the lodging of Whitelocke, as an honor to him, yett probably not without the expectation of a gratuity from him.

Heer Whitelocke received the first packett of *letters* from England, since his comming from thence, about five weekes after the date of the letters; and they came the sooner, by Mr. Lagerfeldt, who posted by land, and left the packett in this town the last night, with a servant of Whitelocke's, whom he mett heer, sent before to make provisions from his master.

Whitelocke was not a little rejoyced to receive letters from his private friends, of the health and wellfare of his wife and family. He had also letters from the secretary of the councell, Mr. Thurloe, wherein, amongst other things, it was thus sayd:

“ I should have bin glad of all opportunities to manifest
 “ the just sence I have of all the many obligations your
 “ lordship hath layd uppon me, and to have assured you
 “ of my constant and diligent attendance uppon every
 “ thing which might concerne you, and your present am-
 “ bassy, wherein I wish your excellence honor, and good
 “ succeffe. I have heerin sent a *character*, by which your
 “ excellence may correspond with the councell, in things
 “ of secrecy, or signify your commaunds to your ser-
 “ vant, which, I hope, will come safe to your hands un-
 “ seen.”

Then

Then he gave him an account of the proceedings in 1653.
 England in the dutch treaty: butt Whitelocke marvelled, ^{Dec. 10.}
 that the character should be sent after him, and by a pub-
 lique minister of that crowne to which he was imployed,
 and neglected to be given him before his comming away;
 butt he was glad to receive it, and made much use of it.

The Lord's day. Whitelocke rested in this towne of 11.
 Orsborough, and had two very good sermons preached
 by his chapleins in his lodging, which the people much
 approved, and wished they could have understood our
 preaching.

There came to his table, the captain of the company
 heer quartered, whose carriage being somewhat scornfull,
 Whitelocke inquired what he was, and learnt, that he was
 the son of Salmacius, who wrote the booke of *Defensio*
Regis agaynst the parlements proceedings; and his son att
 dinner began to discourse liberally uppon that argument;
 butt Whitelocke silenced him, yett was sparing in delivery
 of any opinion in that buisnes; butt declared it to be too
 high for his judgement, or for the judgement of this young
 captaine.

In this citty is a castle belonging to the crowne, incom-
 passed with waters, butt neither large nor beautifull, or of
 much defence; in it is also a stable for about one hundred
 horse, wherein Whitelocke had the favour to have his horses
 stand.

This dayes journey was three swedish leagues, to a 12.
 burgh called Fitzborough, where was very bad quarter;
 and it was hard duety after long travaile uppon such horses,
 and furniture, as is before described, in bitter cold weather,

1653. and for the most part in the night-time, the dayes being
 not above four howers long, to come to bad dyett, and a
 Dec. 12. bed of strawe; butt they were contented, bicause better
 could not be had in those places.

Uppon the way, there fell out a kind of *mutiny* among Whitelocke's people; some of them, tyred and sore with their hard horses and saddles, grumbled att their bad accommodations. Whitelocke, to appease them, alighted from his coach, called the gentleman who first began the disturbance, and complained of his being ill, caused him to alight and goe in Whitelocke's roome into his coach, and Whitelocke mounted on the swedish horse, and in that furniture and equipage rode along with the rest of his company, drolling, and pertaking with them in their hardships; which, with his gentle usage of the offender, gave more satisfaction, then severity att such a time would have done to his people.

Att supper with more beefe, one of his servants told Whitelocke, that they could gett no other provision butt the quarters of a beast, which (he sayd) was found dead in the field. Whitelocke commended the variety, and the dressing of this meate, and it went downe with good stomackes, and made good meate afterwards to tast the sweeter, besides the delight in remembrance of it.

In their great roome of lodging, he caused his field bed to be sett up, and the gentlemen lay in fresh straw round about him, he being frolick, and cheering them; and it is no smalle piece of the art of government to know when to be familiar, and when a fitt distance is to be observed: he commaunded that they should want nothing that was to be had,

had, and the plenty of fuell was no smalle comfort to them att that season.

1653.
Dec. 12.

They were early ready to part from their ill quarter, and travayled two swedish leagues and a halfe, to a town called Cupin. The countrey which they passed was fuller of corne then formerly, with some smalle meadowes in the bottomes. The manner of fencing their arable lands is with a drye picked *hedge*, made of great and long firre poles, stuck in the ground thick, and bound together with withes, wherwith they inclose a large piece of ground, after they have sowed it; and att harvest time, they breake it up agayne, and burne it; butt for green or quick hedges none are to be seen in 300 miles together.

Their winter corne is early *sowed*, that it may gett up before the frost comes, with the which, or not long after, commonly the snowes doe fall, which cover the green corne, and keep it warme, and the ground mellow, and kill the weeds; and att the spring, the thawe comes and dissolves it, and the corne comes to ripene strangely in a short time.

Heer complaint was made to Whitelocke, that the *prætor* of the town denyed his assistance to procure quarters for Whitelocke's people, and gave ill language of the parlement: that they had killed their king, and were a company of taylors and coblers.

Whitelocke showed high distaste at these speeches, and professed to the swedish gentleman with him, that he would have satisfaction of the prætor, and the honor of the parlement vindicated; wherin he was resolved to trye the respects of her majesty to his superiors, which he doubted not

1653. not butt she would manifest, by an exemplary punishment
 of this reproach.
 Dec. 13.

The swedish gentlemen presently fetched the prætor, who is the second officer, like our sheriffe, and the consull, who is the head officer, like our majors of the town. Whitelocke made them waite long ere he would speake with them; and, att length, when he highly expostulated with them, they wept very much, butt indeed were before halfe drunke for sorrowe.

The prætor absolutely denyed the words charged uppon him; butt affirmed, that he spake only to this purpose, what lyes doe the Holland gazets tell us? when they say, the parlement are a company of taylors and coblers, when you see what gallant fellowes they are by their ambassador; what a brave gentleman he is, how nobly attended, what a company of gallant persons waiting uppon him, above 100 in his company: and he protested, that he loved and honored the parlement of England and London with all his heart.

The like was attested by the *consull*, who, for prooffe therof, sayd, that he had read Milton's booke, and liked it, and had it att home. In conclusion, after many protestations, and much mediation, and store of wine presented, and for the most part drank by the magistrates; they and Whitelocke were reconciled and became kind friends, and they and their under officers were very serviceable to Whitelocke and his company.

In discourse with the prætor, Whitelocke extolled the dignity of his office, second in the citty, and his jurisdiction

tion something like that of the roman prætor ; which this officer was well pleased to heere.

1653.
Dec. 13.

To the confull, Whitelocke commended the wisdom of their law, in providing such a head officer for the government and peace of the town ; and the wisdom of the people, in chosing so able a man to be their chiefe officer under the queen ; who, as he had the roman name of the office, so within his præinct (as Whitelocke had learnt) did not much come short of consular authority : which this confull agreed, with much liking.

From them Whitelocke also learnt another appellation of a chiefe magistrate of his company or fellowship, whom they call *Aldryman*, that is with them, an antient, or elderman, or elder ; and he is the chiefe or head of his company, and hath a kind of power and jurisdiction over the rest ; and is in effect the same, which antiently, and att this day, we call our aldermen.

This dayes journey was three swedish leagues and a quarter ; the way was very good, and it was very much to the cheering of Whitelocke and his company, in so long a journey, a time of so much hard weather, and where other accomodations were wanting, to find generally so good high wayes.

The queen was pleased to commaund her officers in the severall provinces where Whitelocke was to passe, that the high wayes should be amended ; and such care was taken, that hardly any countrey affords better wayes then these ; though in some places very mountainous, and severall desperate præcipices downe to great lakes, and butt a very narrow tracke to passe there, and with great daunger.

Butt

1653. But generally the wayes are harde and even, and if att
 any time broken, the perticular officers for that purpose
 Dec. 14. doe summon the inhabitants, and forthwith cause the wayes
 to be sufficiently repayred.

In low places, they use to cast up a cawsey large and high in the middle, with a sloaping and fall on each side, where they make ditches to receive the water, which falls from either side of the cawsey into them; and the way is filled with stones, yett even, and in places which require it, conveyances are made with trunks of timber, layd crosse the way under ground, to passe the water, and keep the way from bogges.

The high wayes are the better preserved, bicause they doe not permit any heavy carryages to passe on them; no waggon is suffered to goe with above one or two horses, or beasts, to draw it, and therefore cannot so much weare and teare the wayes, as where heavy carryages breake them.

Their officers for the highwayes are not like ours in England, where two poor men in every parish are chosen for *overseers* of them, who, favouring their neighbors and themselves, more then intending the buisnes, feldome doe much good in it; butt these swedish officers are constant for that service, and like the Romans *curatores viarum publicarum*, have the charge and care of looking to the publique wayes, that they be kept in repayre, and uppon any default presently amended; for which end, they have power to cause the inhabitants in their præinct, who are fitt to worke, that they labour in their persons, and others to contribute by their purses.

They

They quartered this night att a citty called Westraas, the 1653.
 largest that they had passed uppon the confines of Goth-
 land, fayre and well built; and att the end of it was such ^{Dec. 14.}
 another castle as that of Orsborough, belonging to the
 crown.

The head officer heer was a confull, or major, who,
 with severall of the magistrates, or aldermen, did speake
 good french and latin (something rare to those who came
 from England); and they were very civill and gentile in
 their deportment to Whitelocke and his company.

This citty is the more considerable and wealthy by a
 navigable river from hence to Stockholme, conveying great
 quantities of copper, and iron, digged out of the mines
 uppon the mountains, about two leagues from the towne;
 from whence the rich commodities are brought by land car-
 ryage to this citty, and from hence by water to their chiefe
 port and citty of Stockholme.

Heer were also guards, very officious to Whitelocke, and
 he liberall to them; and the quarter heer was very good,
 butt the people exacting.

A gentleman, who was secretery to his royall highnes 15.
 the prince palatin, prince heretier to the crowne, passing
 by this countrey, and hearing that Whitelocke was ex-
 pected att Westraas, the secretery stayed to give him a
 visit, and passed divers complements uppon him, in the
 name of the prince, his master: to whom Whitelocke de-
 sired the secretery to present his service; and that he hop-
 ed to gaine an opportunity to waite uppon his kingly high-
 nes, before he left this countrey.

1653. The syndick of Gothenbergh posted this morning from
 ~~~~~  
 Dec. 15. Westraas to the court, to give them advertisement of Whitelocke's being come so farre on his journey.

This day Whitelocke travayled three swedish leagues, to a burgh called Encupin, where was dusty and badde quarter, and the baggage not come up to him for want of horses, which neglect was believed to be willfull, to occasion Whitelocke's longer stay by the way; which the swedish gentlemen, his conductors, desired, butt not discovered in plain terms untill this evening, when a post came to them with letters from the court, from the grand master prince Adolphe; which they imparted to Whitelocke, to this effect:

“ That the queen and her court were astonished, that  
 “ the english ambassador was advanced so farre in his journey, with such a trayne, in so short a time. That her  
 “ majesty was glad of his safe arrivall so farre; and in regard, that she was desirous to give him such a reception,  
 “ and intertainment, as might testifye her respects to the  
 “ common-wealth of England (for the which, preparations  
 “ were not yett ready) her majesty desired that Whitelocke  
 “ would repose himselfe in this place untill Monday next  
 “ (this being Thursday); and then to come to a gentleman's house, halfe way from Encupin to Ubsale, which  
 “ the grand master had appointed to be provided for him;  
 “ and that Tuesday would be a convenient time for his  
 “ entry into Ubsale.”

This signification of the queen's desire was a sufficient ground for Whitelocke's resolution to stay heer till Monday; and by a messenger with letters from the gentleman of his horse, he was certefyed, that the boores in this part of the  
 coun-



countrey were more churlish then in other parts, and would not bring in horses and waggons to bring up the carryages, for which he desired orders might be sent; and the swedish gentlemen, with Whitelocke, took order for it: and Whitelocke wrote to his gentleman of the horse att Quarna, where he was, ordering him not to come from the carryages, butt to bring them up to Encupin as soon as he could gett accomodations; yett not to make more then ordinary haste, bicause Whitelocke resolved to stay heer till Monday.

1653.  
Dec. 15.

The weather was hard and frosty, yett very cleer and fayre; Whitelocke was ill and much indisposed, butt God was pleased to support and recover him.

Whitelocke viewed this town, and found it not very large or beautifull, either for buildings or situation, butt much decayed and wanting trade; and is situate in a low ground, the same river from Westraas passing by it, and fertile land about it.

16.

It is the first towne they came to out of Gothland, Gothenbergh being the confines eastward, and Westraas westward, of that antient kingdome of Gothland, which is divided into westro Gothland, next to Norway, and estro Gothland next to Ubsale. These countryes of west *Gothland*, and east Gothland, are very large, and indifferently well peopled, and were the seate and habitation of the antient *Gothes*, from whom the name of Gothland comes: the Germans call it Gotlandt, and the word Got and Gut with them, and in swedish, signifies good, and is used sometimes for God.



1653. A great part of this land is a good and fertile countrey,  
 Dec. 16. considering the climate; and although the inhabitants of  
 it, att present, are not numerous, yett, in former times,  
 it was so fruitfull of people, that vast numbers of them left  
 their countrey as overstockt, and planted themselves in the  
 best and most countryes of Europe; of whom it is sayd <sup>a</sup>,  
 that "the Gothes, a cruell people, antiently subdued Italy  
 by armes," and layd Rome herselfe even with the ground.  
 Butt <sup>b</sup> Pasquier vindicates the Gothes from this calumny of  
 barbarisme; shoves their politie, and civility, and justice,  
 not to be inferior to the Romans themselves; and that re-  
 proaches were cast uppon them by the pens of those whom  
 they had vanquished by their swordes.

<sup>c</sup> Gothofred gives them also their due honor, and faith,  
 "they could not bow themselves to idlenes and pleasures,"  
 butt leaving their own countrey, they invaded and subju-  
 gated most parts of Europe, and Italy itselſe; where they  
 a long time had dominion, and the memory of them will  
 not easily be blotted out.

Their laws teach us, that they were not barbarous; and  
 their characters for writing, which were most antient, doe  
 informe us <sup>d</sup>, "that this nation did joyne the glory of learn-  
 ing with their knowledge of military affayres;" and as it is  
 noted of our antient british *women*, so it is said of the  
 gothiſh <sup>e</sup>, "that in warre they used to goe together into the  
 army, and to mingle themselves as men, in the rankes of  
 those that fought."

<sup>a</sup> Gothi immanes populi olim in totum orbem, suam invexerunt barbariem.  
<sup>b</sup> P. 432. <sup>c</sup> Non posse se torquere otio et inertia. <sup>d</sup> Gentem istam litterarum  
 gloriam cum rei bellicæ scientia conjunxisse. <sup>e</sup> In militia solubant Gothorum fœminæ  
 simul in aciem prodire, et se pugnantium miscere cuneis ut viri.



Whitelocke saw many of their women holding and driving the plough, driving their waggons, rowing their boates, and in other employments more usuall and fitt for men, then for that sexe; and it was common with them. 1653.  
Dec. 16.

Whitelocke learned the manner of administration of justice in the countrey and townes heerabouts, and in this kingdom to be thus: 17.

“ They have in every great towne in the severall precincts, justice administered att their own homes, with severall appeales from inferior to superior judicatories; and the last is to their supreme publique councill, like our parlement: butt heerof, Whitelocke had occasion to inquire more particularly afterwards, and from better hands.”

He learnt also, that in these countryes they have an officer of justice whom they call a lagevard, laved, and lovvard, according to their severall idioms. Lage in their language (as in the Saxon) signifies lawe, and vard or ward, a guardian or keeper; so lagevard or loverd is a warden or keeper of the lawe, a judge. The same word loverd we find in Bede, and in many Saxon manuscripts, used for lord; and by contraction and pronounciation, from lagevord and loverd, may easily come the word lord.

*The Lord's day.* Whitelocke had two very good sermons preached by his chapleins in his own lodging. Mr. Clavering, an english merchant, residing at Stockholme, came to Whitelocke to Encupin, and brought to Whitelocke two packetts of letters, which came from England by the ordinary post to Stockholme, and brought joy to Whitelocke and to many of his company, to heare from their relations: 18.  
among



1653. among the letters to Whitelocke was one from his wife, full  
 of sadnes and affection, and desire to come to him, and  
 praying him to send for her: wherein she saith, "I cannot  
 " butt admire att God's goodnes, that I am yett alive; my  
 " sadnes increaseth every day, so that I can do little else  
 " butt weep night and day. Your going cost me many sad  
 " complaints before it came, butt since, I am not able to  
 " expresse my grieve; I could willingly doe or suffer any  
 " hardship to be with thee; I cannot butt envy the meanest  
 " servant in thy house, for I would willingly doe their worke,  
 " so that I might injoy thy good company. The Lord keep  
 " you in safety, and fill you with his spirit, and make you  
 " walke in close communion with himselfe, so that you  
 " bring much glory to his name, which will be a greater  
 " honor unto you then if you should injoy all this world.  
 " Oh! lett the name of God be called uppon in your family,  
 " and doe you and your family serve the Lord, which is  
 " the dayly prayer of."

By this paquet he also received letters from Mr. Thurloe, acquainting him with the passage of the portugall ambassador's brother, and his company, murdering a man att the change, and their madd fury, for which they were executed. He acquainted Whitelocke also with the particulars of the dutch treaty, the orders of the councell touching swedes ships taken for prizes, and discharges for some of them; with the buisnes of Scotland, Ireland, France, Spayne, and a perfect and full intelligence of all affayres, both forein and domestique, relating to England, or to Whitelocke's negotiation: which were of great use and advantage to Whitelocke in his treaty; and gave testimony of Mr. Thurloe's faithfullnes to the publique, and affection to his friend.



He had also intelligence of designs by some of the king's party to kill him ; and it came from no slight hands. And this they said, " Whitelocke must have great fortune if he escape Dorisflau's and Ayscham's fate ; for there are three in Sweden already (two of them have bin used to such sport) that will attempt him, and have designed to kill him ; and if they misse, there are those that will goe over in the ships with him, that may doe Whitelocke that friendly office."

1653.  
Dec. 18.

For confirmation wherof, although Whitelocke had given strict orders not to admitt any without his warrant into any of his ships ; yett there was a proper lusty fellow who gott into the horse ship, pretending with much diligence to help about the horses, when the groomes were sicke : and being come on shoare, Whitelocke was informed of him, and that there was cause to suspect him. Whitelocke caused his eldest son to take this fellow to be his servant, to use him very kindly, and therby to worke uppon him, and by what means he could, to indeavor to gett out of him his purpose and designs against his father ; however, by having the man constantly about him, he might have the more carefull eye over him, and be the more att hand to prevent any mischief from him.

Whitelocke himselfe also used the fellow with more than ordinary favour as his son's man : butt nothing could worke uppon him to make a particular confession of his own designs, butt intimated enough of others, and a change as to his purposes against Whitelocke ; which, that they were of mischief, his own more perticular confession to one of his most intimate consorts, and his running away in the journey, did confirme ; fearing that Whitelocke would have secured him, and proceeded against him. Butt the Lord was Whitelocke's defence, and in this and many other daungers was his shield and protection.

Whitelocke



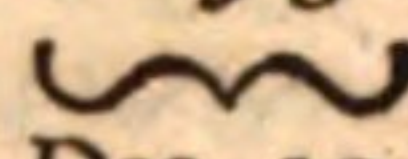
1653. Whitelocke travayled two swedish leagues of long and  
 Dec. 19. bad way, the weather bitter cold and hard frost, and much  
 of the way ice, for which his horses were purposely shod by  
 a smith and farrier, which he tooke along with him, yett  
 his english horses unacquainted with so much ice, had many  
 falles, and one of the horses of his coach in which he rode  
 slipped uppon the ice and fell downe and brake his neck,  
 and never sed afterwards ; so that he found the convenience  
 of having coach horses led leere in such a journey, with one  
 of which he presently supplied his own coach : and it was  
 a great preservation, that no more of his horses, nor any  
 one of his people, was hurt in that day's journey.

Though he went forth early, yett he came not till within  
 night to his quarter, which was a gentleman's house taken  
 up for him : it was the fayrest he had bin in through the  
 journey ; it was built of stone, high and large, and covered  
 with copper, which manifested the father of the owner to  
 have had a beneficiall employment as an officer about the  
 mines.

The hall, dining-roome, and others of like use, were large  
 and well fashioned, butt were two payre of stayres high, ac-  
 cording to the usage in this countrey ; where their chiefe  
 chambers and roomes of intertainment are generally not as  
 those in England, below stayres, butt are one or two stories  
 high ; and heer they were so, and full of windowes, and  
 very cold, most of the floores not boarded, butt paved with  
 stone or bricke ; and the English unaccustomed to such  
 piercing cold weather, were the more sensible of it in  
 this place.

The provisions heer were good and plentifull, as White-  
 locke found in payment for them ; the greatest trouble was  
 to



to gett stable roome and horſe meat ; and Whitelocke order- 1653.  
 ing the gentleman of his horſe to ſee that he had before   
 he came in. After much trouble and paynes taken by the Dec. 19.  
 gentleman of the horſe, with hard ſhift they gott roome and  
 meate for the horſes ; to which buifnes they were not ac-  
 cuſtomed, themſelves uſually travayling uppon the countrey  
 horſes, which at the end of every ſtage are brought home  
 by the owners.

The maſter of the houſe kept Whitelocke company, giv-  
 ing him information of the countrey, and of the nobility  
 and gentry inhabiting therabouts, and of the governement,  
 wherof there will be occaſion to diſcourſe elſewhere.

The houſe was indifferently well ſeated ; the country not  
 unfruitfull nor unpleaſant about it ; plenty of proviſion of  
 fiſh and fowle, butt no great variety : not farre from it was  
 much water and marſh ground, butt now all hard with the  
 froſt.

The gentleman of the houſe excuſed his want of houſhold  
 ſtuffe and accomodations, in regard his father was lately  
 dead, wheruppon his goods (according to the law of that  
 countrey) were divided among all his children ; which is like  
 the cuſtome in London, Yorke, and other places in  
 England.

Heer the lands are alſo divided among the children, both  
 ſons and daughters, each hath a ſhare, and is not unlike the  
 cuſtome of Gavelkind in England, which may reaſonably  
 enough be ſuppoſed (as many other of our cuſtoms that may  
 be mentioned heerafter) to have had their original from this  
 people.



1653. This succession of estates hath a certain and generall course  
 ~~~~~  
 Dec. 19. upon the death of the parent : his chiefe house goes to the
 eldest son, and an equall share besides of the goods and lands ;
 every other son hath a like equall share of the goods and
 lands ; and every daughter hath halfe the share of a son.
 Nor is it in the power of the father to alter it, either by
 deed or will, except in some cases of his purchase ; butt
 after a discent, the estates are thus partible. If the possessor
 have no issue, he then hath power of alienation in his life
 time : butt the purchaser of those lands hath no confirmation
 or assurance of his estate, untill one year be passed after
 the sale of the lands ; bicause in that time the next of kinne
 to the seller may come in, and laying downe the purchase
 money contracted for, he shall have the land to him and his
 heirs, as the first purchaser should have had.

By this course of succession of estates, they observe, that
 much quiet and freedome from suits is gayned ; there is
 little occasion for conveyances, and few or no questions
 touching discent or wills, bicause the law ascertains the
 course of them in all mens cases alike.

Wheras in England, every possessor of an estate having
 a power to make private laws for the disposing therof by
 conveyance or will, multitudes of questions and suits doe
 arise upon the exposition of those conveyances and wills,
 which are prevented by the partible law of Sweden.

The like partible law takes place generally in Germany,
 Denmarke, and other neighbouring countryes, both for
 goods and lands ; all states whatsoever there (as in Sweden)
 being comprised under the name of goods.

As

As it holds for goods, so for titles of honor, their lawes 1653.
are more liberall then in England, or in southerne countryes, ^{Dec. 19.}
where the succession of titles and honors goes to the eldest
son only; butt in Sweden, and those northerne countryes,
uppon the death of the auncestor, his title discends equally to
all his sons; as if the father be an earle or baron, uppon his
death, all his sons are earles or barons, as their father was,
which increaseth the number, butt not the interest of their
nobility.

This order of succession of estates in Sweden is generall,
except in some perticular places, and with some variations,
as circumstances may require; the learning therof is fully
sett downe by their learned doctor Loccenius in his
Synopsis juris ad leges Sueticas accomodata.

This day's journey was two swedish leagues: the weather 20.
very sharpe, and about noone the snow began to fall in great
abundance. Both Whitelocke and all his company had great
cause to take notice of the goodnes of God to them, as att
all times, so particularly throughout this journey, which was
extreame longe and tedious, full of hardships and difficulties;
and it was observable, that untill this time the weather
was for the most part fayre and good: when it was open,
the way fell out to be hard and good; when the way was
deep and watry, the frost helped them. If it had bin either
rainy or snowy, there had scarce bin a possibility to have past
the journey, especially in so short a time as they did; the
want of beds and provisions, some very bad wayes, sharpe
weather, ill accomodations for horses, furniture, waggones,
meate, drinke, lodging, hurts, sickneses, all inconveniences
and hardships, mett with chearfull and constant spirits
(many of whom had borne great hardships though short of
these in our english warres) butt their greatest support was
a dependance uppon the goodnes of God, who had called

1653. them to this service for their country ; and now, and att all
 times in his mercy, did not fayle them.
 Dec. 20.

Being come within halfe a swedish league of Ubsayle, his pages, lacquayes, coachmen, postilions, and groomes in their liveryes, and all his people in their order ; he was advertised, that Monsieur Vanderlin, the master of the ceremonies, was hard by, to meet him, in one of the queen's coaches ; and both of them being alighted for salutation, Vanderlin in a careless garbe, in french, told Whitelocke, that he was sent by the queen to meet him, and to conduct him to Ubsale ; and that she was glad he was come so well thither.

Whitelocke acknowledged with thanks the favour of her majesty ; then offered Vanderlin a roome in his coach, butt he refused it, saying, that two senators would meet Whitelocke before he came to Ubsale, in some of the queen's coaches ; and so he and Whitelocke went each to their own coach.

About an english mile before they came to Ubsale, two senators, Monsieur Tobe and Monsieur Vanderlin, brother to the master of the ceremonies, and much company with them, were come forth of their coaches, and stood by the high way to meet Whitelocke, who, before he came neere them, alighted from his coach ; and after salutations, Vanderlin the senator told Whitelocke, and spake in swedish, which was interpreted in latin, that " the queen had sent them to meet him on the way, and was very glad that he was safely arrived so farre on his way ; that she had sent her coaches to transport him to Ubsale, and desired to receive him with all honor."

Whitelocke

Whitelocke answered in english, which also was interpreted in latin, that in the honor her majesty was pleased to show to him, she manifested her great respects to the common-wealth of England whom he served; and that he hoped shortly to have the happynes to waite uppon her majesty, and to present his thanks to her.

1653.

Dec. 20.

Then senator Vanderlin spake in french to Whitelocke, desiring him to enter into the queen's caroché du corps, which he did; the two senators satt in one boote, and the master of the ceremonies in the other. The coach was of green velvet inside and outside, richly laced with broad silver laces, and fringed; the harness studded and gilded; six handsome white horses drew it, and about twenty of the queen's lacquays in trunk hose of yellow, laced with blew and yellow lace attended it; there were in all eighteen coaches, with six horses a-piece, and about six other coaches, with many of the queen's gentlemen on horsebacke.

The coaches observed their order; the meanest first, and so on in their degrees: the spanish resident's coach went next before Whitelocke's, and both Whitelocke's coaches next before the queen's.

The senators were very civill, and had good discourse in french; but the master of the ceremonies of so slight a carriage, that Whitelocke was the more reserved to him.

In this equipage they brought Whitelocke to Upsale, multitudes of people by the way, and in the town, spectators of his entry; and through the town they brought him to the markett place to a fayre bricke house provided and furnished by the queen for his intertainment; none besides the queen's castle a fayrer house then this was.

They

1653.

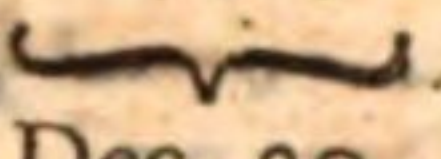
Dec. 20.

They went directly up two payre of stayres ; the queen's and Whitelocke's gentlemen went up first bare-headed ; the master of the ceremonies followed them ; then the two senators, and Whitelocke after them, and sometimes (as the passage would permit) between them ; the queen's lacquayes lighted them up with torches, and Whitelocke's lacquayes among them : the first stayres were of stone, att the top of them a lobby and entry paved with bricke ; the second stayres were of timber, on the top of which was a lobby hanged with tapestry ; out of that they went into a withdrawing roome, hung with good hangings of the queen's, a canopy or state of velvet over the table, with stooles suitable, the carpet of cloth of gould.

Within this roome they brought him to the bed-chamber, a handsome square roome, hung with very good cloth of Arras : the bed was of blew velvet, richly imbroidered all over with gold, and a little filke worke in flowers, lined with yellow damaske ; the carpet was of crimson velvet imbroidered with gold and filke ; the chayres answerable to the curtains, and large foot carpetts of turkey worke round the bed.

As soon as they had brought him into his bed-chamber, and bid him wellcome, they took their leaves, telling him that they must attend the queen, to acquaint her with his coming. Whitelocke waited on them to the stayres head, and finding them to take no notice of it, and multitudes of people interposing, Whitelocke retired to his bed-chamber.

About halfe an hower after the senators were gone, a gentleman of the queen's bed-chamber came to Whitelocke, and said in french, that he was sent by the queen to Whitelocke, to inquire how he did after his journey, and to bid him wellcome to Upsale ; and to excuse the want of such accommodations

comodations as were fitt for his quality. Whitelocke desired 1653.
 the gentleman to returne his thanks to her majesty for her 
 favours, and consideration of him, and for his accomoda- Dec. 20.
 tions, all through her favour, which made his journey seem
 easy and pleasant to him.

Presently after his going, Monsieur Lagerfeldt, who had
 posted and gott to the court before Whitelocke's comming,
 came now to Whitelocke's house, and told him that he was
 sent by the queen to visit him: they had much discourse to-
 gether, wherein Lagerfeldt offered with all freedome and
 courtesy to doe any good offices concerning Whitelocke or
 his buisnes; and therof he gave Whitelocke good hopes of
 the queen's inclination to a satisfactory dispatch. Whitelocke
 inquired of him many things concerning the queen and her
 court, officers, servants, and the publique ministers heer.

The master of the ceremonies returned to Whitelocke,
 and in discourse expostulated with him, that he did not
 shew that regard to the senators who conducted him into
 Upsale, as was due to them; and instanced, in that, after
 they had taken leave of him in his house, he did not bring
 them down to their coaches as he should have done; that
 they were persons of the greatest quality and authority in
 the kingdome; that their own people, and all strangers,
 and particularly ambassadors, did use them with the greatest
 regard and civility; and that after they had brought him to
 his lodging, he should, att their going away, have brought
 them to their coaches; and that he was sparing in giving
 them their due title of excellence, which, if he did not, they
 would not give him that title, and much like matter.

Whitelocke answered, that he was weary after his journey,
 and a lame man, to whom the going up and down so many
 stayres;

1653. stayres was more painfull than to others ; that nevertheless,
 he desired not to be wanting in ceremonies or any expressions
 Dec. 20. of respect to persons of all conditions, especially to senators,
 who were of that eminent degree and esteem ; and among
 them those noble lords ; who did him the honor to ac-
 company him hither, by their civility challenged and merit-
 ed all respect from him ; and if his own ignorance att any
 time led him into an error, he should be willing to be recti-
 fied and better instructed by so learned an author and judge
 as the master of the ceremonies was in these matters.

Butt in the particular charged on him, he did acknow-
 ledge, that he purposely omitted waiting upon the senators
 to their coach, and sometimes of adding their title in dis-
 course, being carefull of his owne honor, and therein of the
 honor of his nation ; that he apprehended the first neglect
 to be on the senators part, in taking no notice of him, nor
 offering any civility to him, in passing thorough three severall
 roomes one after another, butt permitting their own lac-
 quayes and others to interpose between them and him, who
 seeing himsele so much slighted by them, did therefore for-
 beare to attend them any further, butt retired to his cham-
 ber ; and when he apprehended them to be reserved in
 giving him his due title, in regard he was ambassador from
 a common-wealth (which he held as due to him as to any am-
 bassador of a single prince) he might theruppon perhaps
 use that title to them the more seldome.

That he was no stranger to civilities, having had the
 honor to see the courts of severall princes ; that he was most
 ready to give to others their due honor, and expected that
 the honor of the nation whom he served should not be di-
 minished in any respect belonging to him as their servant.

The

The master of the ceremonies seemed not to expect so quick an answer, and layd blame uppon the rudenes of the multitude, att such times of solemnity. Whitelocke said, they were their people and under their rule. The master replied, that he hoped in all matters, there would be a good understanding between Whitelocke and this court, wherein he should be glad to be serviceable : he then desired of Whitelocke a copy of his credentiall letters, to shew them to the queen ; the which were ready transcribed and delivered to him.

A gentleman came to Whitelocke from Don Antonio Piemontell de Parada, envoy extraordinary from the king of Spayne to the queen of Sweden, to visit Whitelocke, from his lord, and to lett him know that he intended to come himselfe to visit him, as soon as his audience should be passed ; and no other publique minister heer sent a compliment to Whitelocke.

The master of the ceremonies returned back to Whitelocke to supper, which was sett on the table in a large dining roome or halle in the same floor with the bed-chamber on the other side of the lobby ; this chamber was furnished with the queen's hangings, full of filke, and good worke ; in the middle of the roome was a long table, with a canopy or state att the upper end of it, of cloth of gold, with the armes of Sweden, and supporters, richly imbroydered with gold and filke : a second table was on the one side for Whitelocke's steward ; and a third table att the lower end for plate and cisternes.

There was a cupboard of the queen's plate richly gilt, with other large silver vessells : the master of the ceremonies having conducted Whitelocke into this roome, himselfe came

1653. with a towell, Mr. Lillicrone and the carver with the bason
 and ewer, and held them to Whitelocke whilest he washed.
 Dec. 20. Grace was sayed by one of the queen's pages; then the master of the ceremonies desired Whitelocke to sitt att the upper end of the table, as he did all the time of the queen's intertainment, which was three dayes, although a senator were present; butt att other times, if any senator came to dine with him (as they often did him the favour) he sett him att his table above himselfe, it being the custom of this countrey so to doe, and contrary to the english fashion: the master of the house gives precedence in his own house to all strangers of quality, both att the comming in, and continuance there, and returning: and heer they are highly sensible of the least omission of any ceremony which themselves judge to belong to them; and Whitelocke held it not fitt to displease them heerin, reserving and expecting the ceremonies and rights pertaining to his own character, and therin to his nation.

The company were placed att meales of the queen's intertainment by the master of the ceremonies; and first of them, Whitelocke's two sons, then the rest in their order: the queen's officers and servants attended with great diligence and ceremony; above all, the carver was too tediously ceremoniall.

Whitelocke had bin informed of the custom of the northerne countryes, of being too much addicted to excessive drinking, and using by many and great draughts of strong drinke and wine, to drinke (as they miscall it) healths, the then which nothing tends more to sicknes and drunkennes, and sinning against God; to prevent which, Whitelocke had strictly warned his own family against drunkenness, and that none of them should att any time begin or pledge any health, butt to excuse themselves by his example and command,

maund, who was resolved not to admitt that wickedness in 1653.
his household.

Dec. 20.

This night about the midst of supper, the master of the ceremonies rose from his seate, and came to Whitelocke with a great glasse of wine in his hand, and began to him a health to the common-wealth of England. Whitelocke with civility desired to be excused from pledging of it, alledging it to be against his own judgment, and the manner and fashion of those whom he served, to drinke or pledge healths, and therefore desired his liberty. The master of the ceremonies (as in his own verge) imperiously urged Whitelocke to pledge the health, and told him that he could not refuse it, being to his masters the common-wealth: Whitelocke answered, that the common-wealth would not be offended att his refusall to pledge their health; and that his masters, if they were present, would also refuse it; that he had gained his liberty with much hazard att home, and should be unwilling to part with it abroad.

The more earnestly it was pressed uppon him, the more earnestly he denyed it, keeping to the rule, *principiis obsta*; and was resolved (as he did) to clayme and make good this his liberty in the beginning and first assaults uppon it.

After this, the master of the ceremonies began the health of generall Cromwell, which was refused by Whitelocke as the former was; att which (in great disdain) the master of the ceremonies asked if they thought it unlawfull, and said, he could not sufficiently wonder to see one refuse to pledge the health of his own generall.

Whitelocke answered, that as he condemned no man for drinking a health, so they ought not to condemne him for

1653. refusing it, and that the master's admiration was altogether
 ~~~~~  
 Dec. 20. unnecessary; that generall Cromwell had other manner of  
 worke for his soldiers then to drinke healths; that his performance of his generall's commaunds in more important matters would please him better then pledging of his health: there were many returnes of the like nature in words and gestures, full of heate and discontent.

Whitelocke's son, and doctor Whistler, likewise refusing to pledge the health, the master of the ceremonies, in great scorn, asked, why not drinke a health? and was answer'd, why not eate a health? The master sayd, they might observe their countrey fashions when they were att home, butt now should observe the customes of the countrey where they were.

Whitelocke replyed, that he understood no such lawe of ceremonies or of nations, for such as himselfe and his company, his quality giving him the priviledge to keep the customs of his own countrey; wheresoever he was; and this freedome he expected heer, and was resolved to preserve. After divers passages of this nature, the dispute concluded in a silent discontent during the rest of supper time.

After supper, Whitelocke made hast to his lodging, whither the master of the ceremonies conducted him; and so they parted. In the lobby, between the great chamber and the withdrawing roome, were guards of the queen's foot with partisans.

21. Mr. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him, that the queen, reading the cobby of his credentialls, excepted att the omission of these words in her title (potentissimæ



tiffimæ domina) which were given to her by the emperor, and all other princes and states.

1653.  
Dec. 21.

Whitelocke desired Lagerfeldt to returne this answear to the queen, that Whitelocke was well assured, that the parlement did beare as much respect and honor to her majesty, as any state or prince whatsoever; that this omission of the words of her title was not purposely, or out of any disrespect to her, butt meerly happened per incuriam of those who prepared the credentialls, which, he desired, her majesty would be pleased to passe by.

Lagerfeldt replyed, that he thought her majesty would be satisfied with this answear, which was the more confirmed, in regard that the same omission, being in Lagerfeldt's reccredentialls when he tooke his leave in England; uppon his desire it was amended, and those words inserted.

Whitelocke then told Lagerfeldt, that the festivall time of Christmas now drawing neer, which was much observed in this countrey; and (as he was informed) that they would intertaine no buisnes during that time; he therefore desired, if it might stand with the queen's conveniency, to have his publique audience before that time: to which Lagerfeldt promised to bring the queen's answear in the afternoone, which he did accordingly; that her majesty was satisfied with what Whitelocke had sayd touching the omission of the words in her title; and concerning his audience, she was willing to gratify his desire, and appointed friday next for it.

Whitelocke took care to informe himselfe of the fashion and custom of this court, and of all perticulars relating to his audience.

The



1653. The dinner was tedious, with like state and ceremony as  
 the last night's supper: the queen's pages and lacquayes  
 Dec. 21. waited att the table; the meate was plentiful, of three  
 courses, butt of no great variety, nor well dressed, butt  
 much after the french mode; store of beefe, severall wayes  
 dressed, both now and att supper.

22. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him,  
 that the queen held her resolution of giving him audience  
 to-morrow att two a'clocke in the afternoone.

The master of the ceremonies, uppon an intimation from  
 the queen (who had heard of the passage about the health)  
 being now become more courteous and quiett, and free  
 from drinking healths to Whitelocke; he thought it not fitt  
 to waive him, butt to interest him also (to whom it pro-  
 perly belonged) in the buisnes of his publique audience,  
 which was readily undertaken by the master, and an an-  
 swear brought by him from the queen to the same effect as  
 Lagerfeldt had done.

The master and Lagerfeldt also agreed in informing  
 Whitelocke of the ceremonies to be used by him, and which  
 were punctually observed; and that it was the constant  
 course of all ambassadors heer, if they spake to the queen  
 in their own language (as Whitelocke said he intended to  
 doe) to have an interpreter; for which end, Whitelocke  
 gave his speech to Mr. de la Marche, one of his chapleins,  
 to putt the same into french, and to peruse it carefully;  
 that being thus acquainted with the whole of it, he might  
 be the better able to interpret it after Whitelocke's speak-  
 ing to the queen.

The



The dinner was hastened, bicause of the audience in the 1653. afternoon; the master of the ceremonies, with two of the senators, Bonde and Vanderlin, came to Whitelocke's lodging with two of the queen's rich coaches, and about twelve of her lacquays: Whitelocke mett them att his doore, and, according to the custom of their countrey, gave them the precedence in his own lodging up to his bed-chamber, where being fate, they told him, that they were commaunded by the queen to conduct him to his audience, and they believed that her majesty was ready to receive him; he said, he was ready to accompany them; and att his going out, Whitelocke was in this equipage.

Att his gate stood his porter in a gowne of grey cloth, laced with gardes of blew velvet between edges of gold and silver lace, two in a seame, his long staffe, with a silver head, in his hand.

The liveryes of his coachmen and postilions were buffe doublets, laced with the same lace, the sleeves of their doublets thicke and rownd laced, their breeches and cloakes of grey cloth, with the like laces.

His twelve lacquayes, proper men, had their liveryes of the same with the coachmen; and the wings of their coates very thick laced with the like laces.

The liveryes of his four pages were blew sattin doublets, and grey cloth trunke breeches, laced with the same lace, very thicke, the cloakes up to the cape, and lined with blew plush; their stockings long, of blew filke.

His two trumpets in the like liveryes.

The



1653. The gentlemen attendants, officers, and servants of his  
 Dec. 23. house, were handsomely accoutred, and every man with his  
 sword by his side.

The gentlemen of the first ranke were nobly and richly habited, who spared for no cost in honor to their country, and to their friend; and their persons, and most of the others, were such as graced their habiliments.

His secretary, for the credit of his master, had putt himselfe into a rich habit.

Whitelocke himselfe was plaine, butt extraordinary rich in his habit, though without any gold or silver lace or imbroidery; his suite was of blacke english cloth, of an exceeding fine sort, the cloake lined with the same cloth, and that and the suit sett with very fayre rich diamond buttons, his hat-band of diamonds answearable; and all of the value of 1000 l.

Thus accoutred, with the senators, they took their coaches; Whitelocke's two coaches, with some of the gentlemen, went first; after them, one of the queen's coaches, with some more of the gentlemen; and last, was the queen's other coach, the senators, master of the ceremonies, and Whitelocke in it.

In the great court of the castle, att the entry uppon the bridge, was a guard of 100 musquaters, with their officer; they made a lane crosse the court. Whitelocke alighted att the foot of the stayres, where was Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne, nephew to the ricks chancellor, the hous marshal, or steward of the queen's house, with his baston, or marshall's staffe of silver in his hand, and many officers and servants



servants of the queen; he was a senator, a civil and well 1653.  
 fashioned gentleman. He complemented Whitelocke in French  
 french, bid him wellcome to court, and promised his readi- Dec. 23.  
 ness to doe him service. Whitelocke returned his gratefull  
 acceptance of his civilities, and the honor he had by this  
 occasion of being knowne to his excellence; they went up  
 two payre of stone stayres in this order:

First the gentlemen and officers of the queen, bare  
 headed; after them, Whitelocke's gentlemen attendants, and  
 of his bed-chamber, with the inferior officers of his house;  
 then followed his gentlemen of the first ranke; after them,  
 his two sons, then the master of the ceremonies, after him  
 the two senators, then the house marshall, after him White-  
 locke, whom his secretary and chaplains followed, and then  
 his pages lacquays, and other liverymen.

The queen's lacquays carryed torches; and when they  
 had mounted many stayres they came into a large hall,  
 many people being in the way, from thence into a great  
 chamber, where prince Adolphe, brother to the prince  
 heretier of the crown, then grand master, or high steward  
 of Sweden, mett Whitelocke: and it was observed, that  
 he had not done that honor to any ambassador before.

Some complements passed between his highnes and  
 Whitelocke in french; the prince bad him wellcome to  
 court; Whitelocke acknowledged his happynes to know so  
 noble a prince, and thanked him for his letters, and the  
 accomodations of his journey, especially within his high-  
 ness's government, by his favour to a stranger.

The prince sayd, that the queen had commaunded her  
 officers to take care for his accomodations, which he



1653. doubted had not bin such as was fitt for him, and desired  
 } his excuse for his ill treatement. After many complements  
 Dec. 23. and ceremonies they past on, Whitelocke uppon the right  
 hand of the prince, who conducted him to another chamber,  
 where stood a guard of the queen's partizans in livery  
 coates, richly imbroydered with gold; in the next roome  
 beyond that, which was large and fayre, was the queen  
 herselfe; the roome was richly hung with cloth of Arras, in  
 the midst of it great candlestickes full of waxe lights, be-  
 sides a great number of torches.

He perceived the queen sitting att the upper end of the  
 roome, uppon her chayre of state of crimson velvet, with a  
 canopy of the same over it; some ladies stood behind the  
 queen, and a very great number of lords, officers, and  
 gentlemen of her court, filled the roome; uppon the foot  
 carpet, and neer the queen, stood the senators, and other  
 great officers, all uncovered; and none butt persons of  
 quality were admitted into that chamber. Whitelocke's  
 gentlemen were all lett in, and a lane made by them for  
 him to passe thorough to the queen.

As soon as he came within this roome, he putt of his  
 hatt, and then the queen putt of her cappe, after the fashion  
 of men, and came two or three steppes forward uppon the  
 foot carpet; this, and her being covered, and rising from  
 her seate, caused Whitelocke to know her to be the queen,  
 which otherwise had not bin easy to be discerned, her habit  
 being of plaine grey stufte, her petticoate reached to the  
 ground, over that a jackett such as men weare, of the same  
 stufte, reaching to her knees; on her left side, tyed with  
 crimson ribbon, she wore the jewell of the order of *Ama-  
 ranta*, her cuffes ruffled a la mode, no gorgett or band,  
 butt a blacke skarfe about her neck tyed before with a  
 blacke



blacke ribbon, as soldiers and marriners somtimes use to 1653.  
weare; her hayre was breaded, and hung loose uppon her <sup>Dec. 23.</sup>  
head; she wore a black velvet cappe lined with fables, and  
turned up, after the fashion of the countrey, which she  
used to putt off and on as men doe their hattes.

Her countenance was sprightly, butt somewhat pale; she  
had much of majesty in her demeanor, and though her  
person were of the smaller size, yett her mienne and car-  
ryage was very noble.

Whitelocke made his three congees, came up to her and  
kissed her hand, which ceremony all ambassadors used to  
this queen; then she putt on her cappe, making a cere-  
mony to Whitelocke, who also putt on his hatte, then call-  
ing to his secretary, tooke of him his credentialls, and put-  
ting off his hatte (att which the queen also pulled off her  
cappe) Whitelocke told her in english (which Mr. de la  
Marche interpreted in french) that the parlement had com-  
maunded him to present those letters to her majesty: she  
took them with great civility, and read their superscription,  
butt did not then open them.

After some pawze, Whitelocke began and spake to the  
queen in english, Mr. de la Marche, by his appointment,  
interpreting every sentence as he spake it, in french, which  
was desired from Whitelocke, and alledged to be the con-  
stant practice of that court.

The queen was very attentive whilst he spake, and com-  
ming up close to him, by her looks and gestures (as was  
supposed) would have daunted him; butt those who have  
bin conversant in the late great affayres in England, are  
not so soon as others appaled, with the presence of a young



1653. lady and her servants. Att the time of speaking, both the  
 queen and Whitelocke were uncovered, and whensoever he  
 Dec. 23. in his speech had occasion to use ceremony, the queen answered it with her courtesy.

Whitelocke's speech followes :

“ Madame,

“ By commaund of my superiors, the parlement of the  
 “ common-wealth of England, I doe, with all respect,  
 “ salute your majesty, which had bin sooner done, if, by  
 “ extraordinary accidents and ingagements, in the settling  
 “ of three nations, with no few forein diversions, it had  
 “ not bin retarded.

“ And although the common-wealth of England are  
 “ not encouraged to send abroad, when they reflect uppon  
 “ the barbarous usage of their messengers in some places ;  
 “ yett your majesty perceives that from your government,  
 “ neither our masters, nor their servants, have the least  
 “ suspition of any such intertainment ; butt we who are  
 “ heer, doe gratefully acknowledge our experience of respect  
 “ and civility to our nation.

“ My buisnes is to communicate with your majesty in  
 “ matters relating to the common good, which is of such  
 “ weight, that it admits no hopes of successe, without his  
 “ speciall blessing who by smalle meanes can bring great  
 “ things to passe ; the confidence wherof, with my submission  
 “ to the judgement and commaund of my superiors,  
 “ hath given me this honor of being in your majesty's  
 “ presence.

“ Whom



“ Whom I shall not weary with many wordes, or ex- 1653.  
 “ pressions, beyond meaning. I am not sent hither for that  
 “ cause, and it is as different from my own spirit, as con- Dec. 23.  
 “ trary to the practise and commaunds of my superiors;  
 “ from whom, and from their servant (according to the  
 “ english reality) your majesty will find all manner of plain-  
 “ ness and truth in our transactions.

“ Our deliverances and preservations (wherof we have  
 “ bin eye wittnesse) have bin so neer to miracles, and such  
 “ monuments of infinite rich mercy from heaven, that we  
 “ should sin against them, if the least guile or unfaithfull-  
 “ nes should infect our conversation.

“ It is not my worke to painte out my own countrey,  
 “ or to draw black lines uppon any (though our adverfa-  
 “ ries) neither shall I take uppon me to mention the ex-  
 “ cellencies of your majesty's person and government, or  
 “ of your people and countryes, least I should injure any  
 “ merit; and bicause I speake to them, whom God hath  
 “ favoured with the injoyment of those great mercyes; the  
 “ increase and continuance wherof is heartily desired by  
 “ my superiors, and by me, their servant,

“ I shall not inlarge my discourse with observations con-  
 “ cerning both nations, of their likeness in language,  
 “ lawes, manners, and warlike dispositions, arguments  
 “ more natural then artificiall for a neerer union: butt this  
 “ I may not omit (the fruits wherof I have tasted) the pre-  
 “ sent happy government under your majesty, which re-  
 “ members unto us those blessed dayes of our virgin queen  
 “ Elizabeth, under whom, above forty years, the people  
 “ injoyed all protection and justice from their prince, and  
 “ she, all obediece and affection from her people.



1653. " May this, and more be the portion of your majesty  
 Dec. 23. " and your successors ; nor had it bin lost in those who fol-  
 " lowed queen Elizabeth, butt through their own ill go-  
 " vernement.

" When attempts were made to ravish from us our  
 " highest interest, the orthodexe religion and just liberty,  
 " (the defence wherof undertaken by king Gustavus Adol-  
 " phus, your majesty's royall father of blessed memory,  
 " in this german expedition for the protestants reliefe, was  
 " in him most honorable and successfull, and surely for  
 " us, was most just and necessary, and crowned alike,  
 " with gracious successe by the Almighty) for the extirpa-  
 " tion of both which, by force (which had long bin at-  
 " tempted otherwise) auxiliaries were provided, and after-  
 " wards a warre rayfed ; butt first appearing in Scotland,  
 " and there diligently resisted, and the English refusing to  
 " be instrumentall against Scotland for those ends, the  
 " storme was then blown over.

" In Ireland it arose so hideous, that 200,000 poore  
 " creatures, men, women, and children (besides what the  
 " war there devoured) were in cold blood barbarously  
 " murdered, for no other butt bicause they were pro-  
 " testants.

" In England it brake out in all parts, from one corner  
 " of the land to another ; not a place, not a family free  
 " from the rage of our decenniall, more then civill war.

" And yett after so much bloud poured forth, we blesse  
 " God we live ; and after so many devastations, a stranger  
 " passing through our countrey hardly can espye the  
 " steppes of it : our good God hath given us in England,  
 " Scotland,



“ Scotland, and Ireland, and all the adjacent isles and <sup>1653.</sup>  
 “ territoryes of the common-wealth, a full and happy <sup>Dec. 23.</sup>  
 “ peace.

“ In all appeales to him (wherof we have seen many)  
 “ he was pleased still to determine for the parlement: and  
 “ after these, and eight tenders and treatyes of peace,  
 “ wherin we received the denyall, it pleased the gracious,  
 “ and all-disposing hand of God, for the good of England,  
 “ to change the government therof. Nevertheless, the same  
 “ common interest which first begatt former alliances, and  
 “ confederacyes between the two nations, doe still con-  
 “ tinue, and oblige both to indeavor the good of each  
 “ other.

“ Wherunto they seem the more ingaged, bicause we  
 “ cannot find, that in any age there hath bin a declared  
 “ war between them; butt a constant intercourse of friend-  
 “ ship and amity, with mutuall offices of kindnes, out of  
 “ which great profit and happynes hath redounded unto  
 “ both.

“ These things being considered, with the affayres of  
 “ Christendome, and especially with the neighbouring  
 “ princes and states, through divine providence, in such  
 “ posture and condition, as to give greater opportunity,  
 “ and lay stronger obligations uppon both these nations,  
 “ to intertain a neerer union and correspondence then  
 “ heertofore; wherby the commerce and tranquility of  
 “ both may be preserved and provided for, with respect  
 “ also to the common interest and concernement of the  
 “ true protestant religion; and your majesty having, by  
 “ your late publique ministers to England, signified your  
 “ royall inclinations and willingnes, by all good means, to  
 “ con-



1653. “ conſerve and increaſe the antient good underſtanding  
 between theſe ſtates:  
 Dec. 23.

“ Uppon theſe, and other weighty conſiderations, and  
 “ to ſhow how acceptable the former overtures of your  
 “ majeſty have bin, the parlement have thought fitt, by  
 “ me, to make tender unto your majeſty of the friend-  
 “ ſhip of the common-wealth of England; and to lett you  
 “ know, that they are not only ready to renew and pre-  
 “ ſerve, inviolably, that amity and good correſpondence,  
 “ which hath hitherto bin between the two nations, butt  
 “ are further willing to enter into a more ſtrict alliance  
 “ and union then hath as yett bin, for the good of both,  
 “ and in ſuch a way as ſhall be held requiſite. I ſhall be  
 “ ready more perticularly to communicate what I have in  
 “ charge for this purpoſe.”

The queen ſtood ſtill a pretty while after Whitelocke had  
 done ſpeaking, and then ſtepping neer unto him, with a  
 countenance and geſture full of confidence, ſpirit, and ma-  
 jeſty, yett mixt with great civility, and a good grace, ſhe  
 anſwared Whitelocke preſently in the ſwedish language;  
 and every ſentence, as ſhe ſpake it, was interpreted, in  
 latin by Mr. Lagerfeldt to this effect:

“ My lord ambaffador,

“ We eſteem it a very great honor, that the parlement  
 “ of England hath bin pleaſed to ſend an ambaffador to us,  
 “ eſpecially a perſon of your condition; and we ſhall take  
 “ care (as we hold ourſelves obliged by this reſpect, and  
 “ by the duety of our governement) that during your  
 “ abode in our dominions, not the leaſt injury ſhall be  
 “ offered, either to yourſelfe, or to any of your retinue;  
 “ and



“ and wee hope there shall be no cause to doubt of the 1653.  
 “ contrary.

Dec. 23.

“ And as your person is very acceptable to us, so is the  
 “ buisnes which you have imparted, in the transaction wher-  
 “ of, we shall manifest the affection which we beare to the  
 “ common-wealth of England, and our desires, not only  
 “ to renew former alliances between the two nations, butt  
 “ to enter into a neerer union then heertofore.

“ We are glad that your common-wealth hath received  
 “ those blessings of peace and settlement, and doe wish the  
 “ continuance therof; and that you may not agayne be  
 “ disquieted, after so long and dangerous troubles, wherein  
 “ you have suffered.

“ And, sir, we must give you thanks for your civili-  
 “ ties to us, and for your acceptance of such intertain-  
 “ ment as this place affordes; butt we are sorry, that it  
 “ could not be in a more convenient place both for me and  
 “ you, and that it was not answerable to your quality,  
 “ and to the respect which we doe beare to the common-  
 “ wealth, whom you serve. Butt we desire you to take  
 “ it in good part, and doe assure you, that you are very  
 “ wellcome to our court.”

After the queen had done speaking, Whitelocke deliver-  
 ed to Lagerfeldt, for the queen, coppyes of his speech in  
 english, french, and latin, and then he spake to the queen  
 (as he was advised, in french) to this effect: “ That heer  
 were two of his sons, and other gentlemen of quality, who  
 did much desire the honor to kisse her majesty's hand.”  
 She presently stepped forward, and gave her hand first to  
 his sons, and after them to sixteen more of the gentlemen of



1653. his company, as they were presented by Whitelocke; and  
 Dec. 23. she shewed great civility, courtesying to every one of  
 them.

After that ceremony past, the queen spake to Whitelocke in french, desiring him to excuse his ill treatment, both in the way, and in this place: those parts of the country where he travayled being farre of, she said, were not provided for the intertainment of such a person as he was, and so attended; and that she was sorry this place would not afforde such accomodations as were fitt for him; and she wished, that she might have intertained him att Stockholm, where it would have bin better.

Whitelocke answered in french, "That he was sorry for the occasion of her majesty's remove from Stockholm; that, nevertheless, by her favour, he had received very noble intertainment att Upsale, for which he returned his humble thanks; that wheresoever her majesty was, his buisnes lay, of waiting on her, and acknowledged it his happines and honor to have the opportunity of accesse to her; and, therefore, did not esteem his journey tedious: that in the way, and in this place, he had injoyed many testimonies of her majesty's respects and favours, for which he returned thanks, and should make it known to his superiors."

Then the queen excused her habit, saying, "That she had bin ill, which caused her to putt herselfe into the dresse of her chamber, in which she chose to appeare thus publicly, rather then to disappoint him of the time of his audience; that she hoped they should have opportunity, and time sufficient, to discourse att large together."

Upon



Upon this, Whitelocke tooke his leave, and her majesty 1653.  
used much courtesy to him and his company.

Dec. 23.

He was conducted back to his lodgings, with the like ceremonies as he was brought to court; the ricks marshall, and Vanderlin, senators, supped with him, it being the usage for senators to eat with an ambassador the last meate only of his intertainment.

They excused their not beginning of an health to the ambassador and his superiors, according to the manner of their countrey, because they understood his judgement to be against it, and therefore, and not for want of respect, they did forbear it.

Whitelocke acknowledged his judgement to be so, and thanked them for their civility of not offering what was so contrary to it, and permitting him (as was reasonable) to enjoy his own liberty.

After a long supper (which was the lesse tedious because the queen's musick played and sung excellently well all the time of it) the senators, and master of the ceremonies, took their leaves of Whitelocke.

The queen's intertainment being now at an end, and 24.  
Whitelocke thereby become master of his own time, and a little more at rest, he thought upon his business, and to cast and designe how he might best prosecute the same; and with most advantage therunto, to make use of all persons resorting to him, and to whom he went, to informe himselfe of the queen's disposition and inclination to his superiors; of what principles she was as to the affaires of England, wherein lay her dissatisfaction and objections,



1653. what wayes were most likely to remove them, uppon whose  
 judgement she did most relye, what manner of conversation  
 Dec. 24. and discourse was most pleasing to her, what power she  
 had as queen, and how restrained by any laws, counsell,  
 or interest of great men.

Who were most trusted by her, whose counsell most followed, what ambassadors and forein ministers were now in her court, what their buisnes was, how farre prosecuted, how likely to succeed, what relation of them to England, how their masters were affected to our common-wealth, and what repute they had in this court.

Heer he found an ambassador from the king of Denmarke, who was att enmity with England; and he heard of a gentleman now heer, who was of great abilities and alliance in Denmarke, forced to flye from his countrey to avoyd the anger of his king: with this person he designed a friendship, that he might by him understand the state of Denmarke, and counterworke the danish ambassador, who was no friend to this gentleman.

Heer was a resident from the king of France, with whom he designed an acquaintance, and civill deportment towards him; and to gett one intimate with him, from whom he might understand his transactions; which he afterwards effected by a swedish gentleman.

The like he designed for getting intelligence of the proceedings of the dutch resident, and afterwards effected, though himselfe could have no converse with this resident, their superiors being in open warre.

Touch-



Touching the publique ministers heere from the emperor, 1653.  
from Russia, and from Poland, he did not much trouble  
himselfe. ~  
Dec. 24.

Butt before all others he designed, and obtained, an intimate acquaintance, and familiarity, with Piementelle, envoyee extraordinary from the king of Spayne, whom he understood, and found, to be a gentleman of excellent parts and ingenuity, and in very great favour with the queen heer; and his master, an early and good friend to the common-wealth of England, butt not to Holland.

He designed also, and gained acquaintance and respect with Grave Tott, the queen's favourite, a gallant young gentleman, and full of civility to Whitelocke; and with the senators, Bond, Vanderlin, Grave Erick Oxenstierne the chancellor's son, the ricks droitset, and chancellor, not yett come to town, and others; and he made great use and furtherance of his buisnes by their acquaintance and assistance.

He sett one to worke about the buying of brasse ordinance, according to his instructions, butt could gett none ready made; and it would be too long to stay the making of them: wherof he gave an account to the councell.

His audience being past, he sent to visit the spanish ambassador, for so they stiled him in this court, and gave him the title of excellence, being governor of Newport, in Flanders; and Whitelocke would not doe lesse to him then others.

The spanish ambassador likewise sent to Whitelocke, to know if he would be within this afternoon, to give him  
leave



1653. leave to visit him; which is the custom in forein parts, not  
 to make a visit to any one, without first sending to him to  
 know if he should be at leisure. Whitelocke returned his  
 desire of seeing the ambassador.

Dec. 24.

Who being come, was mett by Whitelocke at his doore, and (as the use is) had the precedence given him: he used many high complements to the person of Whitelocke, of whom (he said) he had often heard before, &c. and of the common-wealth of England, he protested a most high regard and veneration; and that his master, the king of Spayne, had more then ordinary affection and respect for them.

Whitelocke gave him thanks for his civility in sending to meet him, and inquiring of his health at his arrivall heer, and remembered the testimonies that the king of Spayn had given of his affections to the common-wealth of England, being the first prince who acknowledged the parliament; and said he had heard so much of the worth and honor of this ambassador, and of his acquaintance heer, that Whitelocke was ambitious to be known to him, and to be in his favor.

*Piem.* replied, I have bin some time in this court, and injoyed much of the queen's favor; and if therby I may be serviceable to your excellence, or to your buisnes, I shall be glad of it.

*Wh.* I doe much rejoyce that her majestye's favors are so worthily placed, and hope that it may be of advantage to me.

*Piem.*



*Piem.* What course doe you intend to take for procuring 1653.  
your audiences.

Dec. 24.

*Wh.* The master of the ceremonies adviseth, that I must goe by way of memoire to the secretary of state.

*Piem.* With submission to him, to whose office it doth belong, I apprehend that way to be about, and not so agreeable as to desire private audiences from the queen herselfe.

*Wh.* Did your excellence use that way?

*Piem.* I tooke that course in all my buisnes, and it succeeded well, and was best liked by the queen.

*Wh.* When doth your excellence suppose I may, with civility, desire a private audience?

*Piem.* I am confident, that if your excellence desire to have a private audience to-morrow, though Christmas day, the queen will give it you.

Whitelocke was glad to heare the Spanyard of this opinion, butt resolved not to desire an audience on that festivall day, which was so solemnly observed heer; butt thought it might be helpfull to his proceedings to gett into an intimate friendship with this gentleman, which he began at this time, when they had very much and free discourse together, both of the queen, and of her court and servants: and Whitelocke gayned much from him, and afterwards improved his acquaintance and interest with this gentleman by civilities, and frequent conversation, to the great advantage of his buisnes, by the extraordinary favour of  
this



1653. this ambaffador with her majesty, and consequently with  
 her servants.  
 Dec. 24.

25. *On this Lord's day*, being Christmas day, Whitelocke had prayer and sermons in his house, butt most of his company went abroad to observe the manner of the celebration of this day heer: and he learned, that their prayers, and divine service, were much after the manner of the english common prayer booke, in the lessons, epistles, gospels, prayers, second service, responfalls, and administration of the sacrament; and neer the same words as in our *litturgy*, for baptisme, marryages, churchings, and visiting the sicke, and buryalls.

That their ministers in countrey parishes are not generally very learned, nor studious; butt many of them, having made or provided a book of sermons, fuitable to the severall holydayes, and for every Lord's day, they say or reade one of these sermons uppon the day for which it was made; and when the yeare begins agayne, they also begin agayne their booke of sermons, and before they come to the last, the first is forgot, and becomes as new the next yeare.

Butt in this university of Upsale, and in divers other places, they have both bishops, superintendents, and ministers in the inferior clergie, who are men of great learning, and hard students, and pious men; and such are had in great veneration by the people, and carry a great sway with their neighbors and parishioners: butt their means is not liberall, the archbishop's revenue of this place being reckoned butt 2000 ricks dollars yearly, which is about 500 l. a year of our money; the other bishops lesse; and few of their parish ministers have above 40 or 50 l. a year,  
 6 their



their parishes, though very large, yett not being populous, 1653.  
nor much manured.

Dec. 25.

They have a good way of choosing their ministers in every parish; and they live lovingly with the people, sometimes to the giving of bad example, even to debauchery, att their feasting and times of jollity.

In the cathedrall church heer, they come too neer the fashion of the popish churches for crucifixes, images, coapes, surplices, and the like; and in the manner of their chaunting of service, and with ceremonies fetched from the usages of that church, and not yett reformed; butt in the queen's chappell they had not those ceremonies, not so much as the surplice. They are much pleased with musicke in their churches, and that in the queen's chappell (which some of Whitelocke's people who were able to judge of it, heard this day) they commended to be excellent good; and they noted, that in the queen's chappell the musick played in the time of divine service and of administering the sacrament.

By the master of the ceremonies Whitelocke procured a 26.  
private audience appointed by the queen to be this day, and was brought to the court with three or four of the queen's rich coaches, attended by many of her lacquays with torches: in the presence chamber he was mett by Grave Tott, the queen's favourite, and captain of her guard, who brought him into a fayre withdrawing-roome, where the queen was alone; her habit of black velvet, of the same fashion as att the audience.

They were there alone together, and the doors were shutt; Whitelocke began to speake to the queen in french, to this effect.



1653. *Wh.* Madame, I desired this audience for an opportunity  
 ~~~~~  
 Dec. 26. to returne my thanks to your majesty for the honor you
 have bin pleased to show me, and for the favours I have received from your majesty in my journey, and in my intertainment and publique audience heer.

Queen. Your accomodations in your journey and your intertainment heer have not bin such as I desired, nor could these places afford what was fitt for you; and I desire you to excuse it, and be assured of a hearty wellcome to my court.

Wh. Madame, what I intimated att my publique audience in the generall, I am ready to give your majesty a particular accompt of it; and do hope that it will be for the good of both nations.

Qu. I believe the same, and am ready to intertaine an alliance with the common-wealth of England. The buisnes is of very great weight and consequence, and therefore requires good consideration and advice. I am att present in a condition of quiett and peace; and how farre I should involve myselfe in troubles, is very considerable.

Wh. Your majesty is best able to judge whither an alliance with England will not adde to your security, there being designs abroad against your majesty as well as others.

Qu. I believe there are, and that an alliance with England will be of advantage to us; butt, sir, have you any other authority for such a buisnes, besides the letters you brought to us.

Wh.

Wh. Madame, I have a commission under the great seale 1653.
of England, which I have brought with me to shew to your ^{Dec. 26.}
majesty.

Qu. I pray lett us read it together.

Wh. I see your majesty understands the latin perfectly,
and will find heer sufficient authority given me for this
buisnes.

Qu. I have latin enough to serve my turne, and the au-
thority given to you is very full. Uppon what perticulars will
the parlement thinke fitt to ground the alliance between the
two nations?

Wh. If your majesty please I shall present you with the
perticulars in writing, in french or latin, as you shall com-
maund.

Qu. It will be best in latin, bicause I shall take advice
in it.

Wh. I shall doe it as your majesty directs.

Qu. Your generall is one of the gallantest men in the
world; never were such things done as by the English in
your late war. Your generall hath done the greatest things
of any man in the world; the prince of Conde is next to
him, butt short of him. I have as great a respect and honor
for your generall, as for any man alive; and I pray, lett
him know as much from me.

1653. *Wh.* My generall is indeed a very brave man; his actions
 show it : and I shall not fayle to signify to him the great
 Dec. 26. honor of your majesty's respects to him ; and I assure your
 majesty, he hath as high honor for you as for any prince in
 Christendome.

Qu. I have bin told that many officers of your army will
 themselves pray and preach to their soldiers ; is that true ?

Wh. Yes, madame, it is very true. When ther ennemies
 are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging : the officers and
 soldiers of the parlement's army use to be incouraging and
 exhorting one another out of the word of God, and pray-
 ing together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with
 them ; who hath showed his approbation of this military
 preaching, by the successes he hath given them.

Qu. That's well. Doe you use to doe so too ?

Wh. Yes ; uppon some occasions, in my own family : and
 thinke it as proper for me, being the master of it, to ad-
 monish and speake to my people when there is cause ; as to
 be beholding to another to doe it for me, which sometimes
 brings the chaplein into more credit then his lord.

Qu. Doth your generall, and other great officers do so ?

Wh. Yes, madame, very often, and very well. Never-
 theless they maintaine chapleins and ministers in their houses,
 and regiments ; and such as are godly and worthy ministers
 have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as
 in any place of Christendome. Yett 'tis the opinion of many
 good men with us, that a long cassake, with a filke girdle,
 and a great beard, do not make a learned or good preacher ;
 without

without gifts of the spirit of God, and labouring in his vineyard: and whosoever studies the holy scripture, and is enabled to doe good to the souls of others, and indeavours the same, is no where forbidden by that word, nor is it blameable.

The officers and foldiers of the parlement held it not unlawfull, when they carryed their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to incourage one another out of his word who commands over all: and this had more weight and impressiion with it than any other word could have; and was never denyed to be made use of butt by the popish prælats, who, by no meanes would admit lay people (as they call them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can no where else be found.

Qu. Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good fermon. I assure you I like it very well.

Wh. Madame, I shall account it a great happines if any of my words may please you.

Qu. Indeed, sir, these words of yours doe very much please me; and I shall be glad to heare you oftener on this strayne. Butt I pray tell me, where did your generall, and you his officers learne this way of praying and preaching yourselves?

Wh. We learnt it from a neer friend of your majesty, whose memory all the protestant interest hath cause to honor.

Qu. My friend! who was that?

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* It was your father, the great king Gustavus Adolphus, who, uppon his first landing in Germany (as many then present have testified) did himselfe in person uppon the shoare, on his knees, give thanks to God for his safe landing, and before his soldiers himselfe prayed to God for his blessing uppon that undertaking; and he would frequently exhort his people out of God's word: and God testified his good liking therof, by the wonderfull successes he was pleased to vouchsafe to that gallant king.

To this, the queen made no further reply: butt as her manner was, sometimes she would discourse of the english wars, and sometimes of the present treaty; and fall out of one matter into another, full of variety and pleasant intermixt discourses.

She was very inquisitive to know from Whitelocke the state of the warre between England and the dutch: he gave her a full account therof, and told her, that she should find nothing butt truth in what he related to her.

She then discoursed of all the battles and passages between the king and parlement, and of the treatyes, wherein she had bin largely informed; butt with divers mistakes, to the disadvantage of the parlement: and Whitelocke having bin sufficiently versed in those matters, gave her a full and true relation of them, respecting the mistakes; and she seemed much satisfied therewith, saying, that she never had bin truly and clearly informed of those affayres untill now. She likewise inquired of Scotland, Ireland, and of the buisnes of the Highlanders, and concerning Cromwell, Fairfax, and most of the officers of the parlement's armyes and navyes; concerning all which, Whitelocke gave her a full account.

Then

Then she inquired of the buisnes of Worcester; wherof ^{1653.}
 Whitelocke gave her a cleer relation, and of the forces on ^{Dec. 26.}
 each side, of Cromwell's speedy marches, of the parlement's
 quick supplyes and additionall forces, and of perticular
 actions in the ingagement, which he tooke care to doe with-
 out injury to any party, giving all of them their due:
 the queen seemed to wonder att it, and to receive much
 contentment in the relation.

She then asked what personall actions the king of Scotts
 performed in that ingagement? Whitelocke said, that the
 king was in person, both in the field and in the towne, in the
 hottest ingagement, and expressed good courage and con-
 duct; and when, by the fortune of the war, his men left
 him, he was forced to leave the towne.

This audience lasted above two howers, not any person
 coming in, or knocking all that time, to interrupt them. They
 stood, and walked up and downe the roome all the while,
 which made Whitelocke very weary, being lame. Yett att
 the time in discourse with such a princeffe, and uppon such
 high matters (like a wounded man when he is hott) he felt
 not the payne; butt felt it afterwards.

The young men, schollars of the university of Upsale,
 ambitious to publish their learning, and how farre it did ex-
 tend, even to the knowledge of remote english, and to
 testify their affection to that nation; many of them came to
 Whitelocke's house, and presented him with greek, latin,
 and english verses, sett out with flourishes in a table of
 parchment, adorned with ribbons, and a high swelling title,
 " To the most illustrious, &c. B. W. Jupiter and Mars, be-
 " ing extraordinarily conjoyned, extraordinary ambassador,
 " &c."

1653. The english verses for the uncouthnes and variety of them
 are heer only inserted.
 Dec. 26.

One only starre, from east, tree kings did leade:
 Most glorious Mars, and Jupiter, brought you to Swede;
 Who, doubtlesse, (with) your famous will and wisdome,
 Will knot and (Lock) ours, with your most martiall king-
 dome.

Therefore, no humane craft or policy indeavour
 To breake that which cœlestiall signs doth favour.
 Then will we daunt all Europe's stoutest hearts,
 Ledde by your great Neptune, Jupiter, and Mars.
 Thus doe we, the literal flower of this most glorious aca-
 demy,
 With hearts imbrace whom heaven sent; and prayse your
 famous excellency.

Some of the schollars spake to Whitelocke in good latin;
 and he answered, and treated them with all kindnes and civi-
 lity: and after discourses in latin, Whitelocke offered to dis-
 course with them also in that language, which they had
 honoured by their verses in english; butt they would not
 adventure uppon it. He returned them the most acceptable
 thanks, a gratuity in money to buy them some bookes,
 which was cheerfully received; and so the schollars were
 dismissed.

Whitelocke sent to visit the spanish resident, to know if
 he should be at leisure to-morrow to admit a visit from him;
 and the like message he sent to prince Adolphe: and both
 returned civill answers, and that they should be glad of
 the honor to see the english ambassador.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke made his first visit to prince Adolphe, who ^{1653.} discoursed much with him of England, and of the late ^{Dec. 27.} troubles there; and his highness did much extoll both the countrey and people of England, and fell into a large discourse of the english horses, and wondered how they could indure so long a voyage and journey att that time, as those did which Whitelocke brought with him, and prayfed them, even to a desire of having some of them bestowed on him: butt Whitelocke was not so young a courtier, as to passe the complement of their being att his highness's service, lest he might be taken att his word.

English horses (especially for the pad) are of great esteem heer: their own are generally of a finalle breed, and trotters; they are somewhat like our welsh and scottish nagges. The queen and some great lords have a breed of large and handsome horses, butt not many of them; most of their horses for the coach and stedde, and for war, are brought out of Germany or Denmarke, where they have store of good ones; butt none for beauty, mettle, and service beyond the english.

The prince inquired much of the service of our english horses in our late warres, and if they were not a great advantage to the party that had most of them.

Whitelocke told him, that England bred plenty of good horses, and they had many thousand of them in the late war on both sides; and the horsemen were as good soldiers as any in the world, yett gave the lesse advantage to their party, bicause the english infantry were much beyond the foote in other cuntryes, who maintained not their foot in such pay, and clothes, and courage as the english did; who had them in such esteem, as the chiefe strength in

1653. the battle, that the english kings used to place themselves,
 and fight among the footmen: yett their horse were ex-
 Dec. 27. cellent good, and most of them gentlemen and persons of
 consideration.

The prince fell into a discourse of the hunting and hawking in England, which he had heard the english gentry much delighted in, and had those sports farre exceeding other places; which Whitelocke acknowledged, and was able to describe the manner of it to the prince, who was much delighted therewith: and then he extolled the civility and gallantry of Whitelocke's followers, and of the english nation in generall, and received answerable complements from Whitelocke as to his highness's person and countrymen.

From the prince, Whitelocke went and visited the spanish ambassador, who was a gentleman of great parts and ingenuity, and of a very civill deportment; his favour with the queen was so great, that she afforded him lodgings in her own court in the castle; he was handsomly attended by a retinue, not numerous, butt of well chosen persons.

His chaplein was a prior, a man of excellent parts, witt, and behaviour; he spake fluently, besides spanish, the latin, french, and high dutch, and was very learned: in whose company and discourse Whitelocke took much pleasure, and the more bicause he never mentioned any thing of religion that might cause dispute.

His secretary was a very gentile man, had good language and abilities; besides him, he had butt one other gentleman of quality, and the groomes of his chamber, two pages, four lacquays, cooks, butlers, coachman, postilian, all handsome men, and well habited and civilized. In his discourse
 2 he

he wished all good successe to Whitelocke and his buisnes: 1653.
and acquainted him, that the hollanders were then in treaty ^{Dec. 27.}
for a league between them and France and Denmark, and it
was to be against Spayne and England; butt nothing said of
the queen of Sweden.

Whitelocke asked if the queen were not sensible that it
would concerne her, though she were not mentioned in it.
He said, the queen thought it did reflect more upon her then
upon Spayne or England, who were named. Whitelocke
said, she might take it as if they held her unworthy to be
named.

They agreed with much mutuall respect, upon a friend-
ship between these two publique ministers, as being much
upon the same interest and principles, and to assist one
another all they could, and to communicate intelligences.

Piementelle made an overture, that an union between
Spayne, England, and Sweden, would be of great advan-
tage to all of them; to which Whitelocke thought fitter to
give a generall, then any punctuall answer.

Piementelle fell into a high commendation of the queen,
of her singular parts and abilities for government and pub-
lique affayres, excelling all women, and scarce giving place
therin to any man that he ever mett with; and that she was
of an admirable spirit and courage beyond her sexe, well
skilled for military affayres, and as fitt as possibly a woman
could be to leade an army. This was seconded by White-
locke, as farre as his knowledge could inable him; and he
thought fitt not to be silent in this argument, touching a
a princeesse in whose court they both were.

1653. Att his returne home, he found some of those gentlemen
 still there, who had favoured him with their company att
 Dec. 27. dinner; the master of the ceremonies, Mr. Lillycrone, the
 syndick, Mr. Couper, Mr. Butler, and others.

28. The french resident visited Whitelocke, and among his
 long complements, mentioned the great affection of the
 king his master to the common-wealth of England. White-
 locke answered, that the common-wealth had not att any
 time assisted the ennemyes or rebells of his master, or inter-
 tained them, and therefore deserved his majesty's affection:
 to which the resident made no replye, butt fell into discourse
 of Whitelocke's journey by land, and of the countryes and
 towns through which he travayled, where the resident sayd
 he had bin, and that three of the largest of those towns must
 be putt together to make one citty; that it fell out well, that
 the last year was so plentifull, else the people that came with
 Whitelocke would have wanted meate to eate, and straw to
 lye on; and he highly commended his own countrey (as was
 expected from him) and the accomodations of travaylers
 there; which gave Whitelocke occasion to doe right to Eng-
 land. The gentleman had butt smalle attendance, and had
 not gayned much experience by seven years residence in this
 court.

Whitelocke answered the visite of Grave Tott, the queen's
 favourite, who offered his service in any addressees to his
 mistress; and Whitelocke accepted and made use of his cour-
 tesy, which he was the more inabled to afforde, being (as him-
 selfe noted) the first gentleman of her bedchamber; he was
 a civill handsome young courtier, of good parts and mettle,
 and much of the french mode.

The

The master of the ceremonies being out of town, White-^{1653.}locke made use of the favour of Grave Tott, and by him ^{Dec. 29.}procured a private audience from the queen, to which he went in his own coaches; and in the great chamber Grave Tott mett him, and sayed, he had surpris'd them att court, who intended to have sent the queen's coaches for him, butt he came sooner than they expected; for which Whitelocke asked their pardon, if his earnest desire to have the honor of being in her majesty's presence, might bring him to court att an hower unseasonable.

He was presently admitted into the queen's presence, where two stooles were brought in; and the queen having heard that Whitelocke was lame, she herselfe fate downe, and commanded Whitelocke to sitt by her: she kept of her cappe, and so did Whitelocke all the time of the audience.

Having first intertain'd her with some newes which he had from England, and concerning the dutch; he then showed her a list of the parlement's fleet for the winter guard, explaining to her the number of men, the severall officers, the burthen of the ships, how many pieces of ordinance each of them carryed, the pay of the men, the provisions of dyett, the stores, ammunition, and the like; of all which she was very inquisitive, and asked him,

Queen. Doe those ships belong to the common-wealth? or to private persons, and are made use of by the state when they have occasion, as att this time?

Wh. They are all the states own ships, built and furnisht att the publique charge, and are sett out for this winter guard only. The state hath many more and greater ships belonging to their navy; which are reserved, and to be fitted for

1653. for the summer guard; besides many others that are repayr-
ing, and new building.
 Dec. 29.

Qu. This is a gallant navy indeed; I am exceedingly taken with the description of it. I thought no prince or state in the world had had so good a fleet, except the hollanders, who, I believe, have more ships then England.

Wh. The hollanders may have more ships or vessels then England, especially if fisher boates be reckoned; butt for ships of warre, England is not inferior to any other nation. The hollanders take more care for ships of burden, than of force; butt the english merchant ships may be easily converted to able ships of war. The hollanders, till their present sea war with England, had not much occasion for ships of war, being in peace with their neighbors, and the lesse, being uppon the continent; butt for carryage ships (their principall interest being trade) they had as much occasion, and a greater number then any other people. Butt England, Scotland, Ireland, and the dominions of our common-wealth, consisting of islands; our chiefeft defence is in our navy, to meet with an ennemy before he lands, and our best bulwarkes are these wooden walles.

Qu. You have reason for what you say; some of these ships of yours would doe good service to open the Sundt. What way doe you thinke fitt to be taken to open and make free the passage therof?

Wh. That must needs be better known to your majesty, who is a neighbor to the place, and much concerned in it, then to me who am a stranger.

Qu. But I desire your opinion in it.

Wh. I

Wh. I doe not thinke it convenient to permit the dane ^{1653.}
and the dutch to lay what exactions they please uppon all the ^{Dec. 29.}
people of the world, who have occasion to passe that way.

Qu. It cannot be taken out of their hands butt by force.

Att this word the queen drew her stoole neerer to White-
locke's, and sayd :

Qu. Doe you thinke that the common-wealth of England
will give assistance in that buisnes ?

Wh. Madame, I thinke they will, uppon such just and
honorable terms as may be agreed.

Qu. Doe you thinke they will send any ships for that
purpose ?

Wh. I believe uppon fitt termes they will.

Qu. What would you propose as fitt to be done in the
buisnes ?

Wh. I suppose your majesty doth not expect any propofall
from me in the first place. Butt if you will be pleased to
consider of some propofalls in order to that buisnes, and that
I may have them in writing, I will send them to my superiors,
from whom I shall speedily receive directions therin, agree-
able to the interest of both nations ; and a conclusion may
be theruppon had in this buisnes heer.

Qu. Par Dieu ! this is worthy the consideration of both
nations, and doth not only concerne them, butt all the world
besides.

1653. besides. Butt what doe you thinke of the emperor's taking
 Dec. 29. part with the king of Denmarke?

Wh. The buisnes will be chiefly att sea, where the emperor hath no strength. And I believe his imperiall majesty will have no opportunity to molest your majesty's territories in Germany, in regard of his own affayres with the princes and his neighbors.

Qu. Butt he may assist the Dane with money.

Wh. I thinke he hath not much to spare.

Qu. The king of Spayne may lend them money.

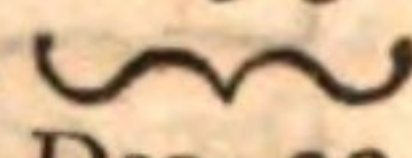
Wh. Not against England or Sweden, especially to advance the interest of Holland; though he should have money enough besides for his own many occasions, which I believe he hath not.

Qu. I presume the dutch will come with all their power to assist the Dane chiefly against England, and to hinder their having an interest in the Sundt.

Wh. It concerns them so to do, the rather now, they being in hostility against us, and in alliance with the Dane: butt this is to be expected and provided for; and the buisnes will come the sooner, and the more certainly to an issue.

Qu. Doe you thinke that your common-wealth will send ships enough, and sufficient to incounter with the dutch?

Wh. In all our affayres hitherto, the blessing of God hath bin with our common-wealth; and I doubt not butt that

that our ships, joining with your majesty's, will suffice to 1653.
bring to reason the dane or dutch, in these or any other 
seas. Dec. 29.

Qu. I believe the king of France will assist them.

Wh. His navy is not very formidable, nor frequent, on the Baltick sea; and for land forces, they will have a long march, after they have made an end with the prince of Conde and their old ennemy; nor hath that king much spare money.

Qu. You speake very fully, and truely, of the interest of the severall princes and states of Europe. I do extreemly like the buisnes, and will prepare a memoire of some proposalls concerning it, and give it to you to send into England; butt speed, and vigor, and secrecy are requisite heerin. And I must injoyne you to acquainte no body with this discourse, butt only your generall Cromwell, whose word I shall relye uppon; butt I would not have this matter made knowne to any other whatsoever: and I desire you not to speake of it to any of my own ministers; nor, of any thing else relating to your negotiation, butt what I shall give way unto.

Wh. Madame, I shall faithfully obey your majesty's commands, and not reveale any tittle of these matters without your permission.

Qu. Have you not heard in England, that I was to marry the king of Scotts?

Wh. It hath bin reported so in England, and that letters have past between your majesty and him for that purpose;

1653. and that your majesty had a good affection for the king of
 Dec. 29. Scotts.

Qu. I confesse that letters have past between us ; butt this I will assure you, that I will not marry that king : he is a young man, and in a condition sad enough ; though I respect him very much, yett I shall never marry him, you may be well assured. Butt I shall tell you under secrecy, that the king of Scotts lately sent a letter to the prince Palatin, my cousen, and with it the order of a knight of the garter to the prince : butt the messenger had the witt to bring it first to me ; and when I saw it and had read the letter, I threw it into the fire, and would not suffer the george to be delivered to my cousen.

Wh. Your majesty did very judiciously, and therby testified great prudence in yourselfe, and great honor and respect to the common-wealth of England. I mett in your court one of my countrymen, no friend to our common-wealth, whom I suspect might be the messenger.

Qu. Who was that ?

Wh. Sir William Balendine.

Qu. He indeed was the messenger : butt doe not communicate this passage to any butt to your generall.

Wh. I shall fully performe your majesty's commaunds ; and, madame, I hope you will not trouble yourselfe to receive any publique minister or message from the king of Scotts, or any of his party ; or if any should come, that your servant may have the honor to know of it.

Qu.

Qu. What would you doe in case any such thing should
be?

1653.

Dec. 29.

Wh. I hope that, in reason and in right of friendship with our common-wealth, I may prevayle with your majesty not to intertaine any such minister or message; and it behoves me, in that duety and service which I owe to my superiors, to make my protestation against any such message or messengers.

Qu. That would be an act of stoutnes in you, and I believe you may be commanded to doe soe; butt I suppose there will be no occasion for it: there is no such messenger in my court; and as for Balendine, he is one of my servants.

Wh. I hope there will be no occasion for it.

Qu. What are the perticulars which you have to propose to me of this treaty?

Wh. Madame, I have them heer in writing.

Then Whitelocke (having resolved as the best way in his judgment to deale with a princeffe of honor) did freely and fully present her with all the articles att once, for which he had received instructions, reserving only three, which would be more proper to be given in and treated on after her answer known to these. Perhaps he would have done otherwise with the Dutch, or other people, to have proceeded by degrees, and not to have bid so much att first; butt with this queen he thought this franke way would be the best. And it proved so; for she was pleased after this to say to some in private, that the english ambassador had dealt with her, not

1653. as a merchant, butt as a gentleman and as a man of honor,
 and that he should fare the better for it.
 Dec. 29.

Whitelocke gave her an english copy of the articles signed by him, and a latin copy not signed: she desired him to reade the latin copy to her, which he did, and she was very attentive, not giving any interruption; and, after they were read, the queen made her observations upon severall of them, asking the meaning therof, which Whitelocke explained, and endeavoured to give her satisfaction. She then said, it was a great buisnes, and she desired some few days to consider and advise upon it: Whitelocke told her, she was mistress of her own time, and when she should command, he would be ready to waite on her majesty agayne. She replied, that, whensoever he pleased to come to her court, the gates should be open to receive him, and he should be wellcome to her; and that, within three or four dayes, she would be ready to conferre with him agayne about these matters.

This audience lasted about three howres, none interrupting it, and the queen was in a very good humour, and seemed very well pleased with the company and conference.

30. This being the post day, Whitelocke was very buisy in writing his letters to England. He wrote att large to the councell of state an account of his reception and entertainment heer, and of his publique audience; and the civility and gallantry of his people, of the passage about the health, of his private audiences, of the conference with the queen, touching the fundt, which he wrote in cypher. He also sent them a copy of prince Adolph's letter to him, and of his speech to the queen in english, and the latin copy

+ App. D. 2

copy of it, which he gave in to her, which heer fol- 1653.
lowes.

Dec. 30.

vid. Append.

“ Serenissima Regina,

“ Adsum imperio et autoritate parliamenti reipub. An-
“ gliæ amandatus, ut eorum nomine serenissimam majesta-
“ tem vestram salutarem.

“ Quod officium multo ante cupidi præstitissent, si non
“ summa ratio turbatas res in tribus nationibus domi com-
“ ponendi; nec non complura ab exteris curandi necessitas
“ molesta ipsissimis mora interpellasset.

“ Enimvero licet respub. anglicana in alta mente re-
“ ponens, quam barbare non ita pridem contra jus ac fas
“ gentium, oratores sui publici aliquibus in locis tracta-
“ bantur; vel inde legationibus perparce uti possit, liquet
“ tamen quod pro magnifico vestri regiminis honore habe-
“ tur, nullum esse ea de re, nec dominis meis, nec eorum
“ ministris sub tutela vestra suspicionem; quin potius nos
“ ipsi quotquot huc convenimus, experti multa humani-
“ tatis officia, et erga nos, et gentem nostram grato animo
“ agnoscimus.

“ Id jam nunc mihi incumbit officii, ut cum serenissima
“ majestate vestra de bono publico communicarem, quæ res
“ tam ardua tantiq; momenti est, ut vel hinc mihi de
“ tota negotiatione male ominarer, nisi Dei omnipotentis
“ consilio auxilioq; fretus essem, qui non raro stupendia
“ opera mediis quantumvis vulgaribus concinnat; hac spe
“ erectus, nec non jussu meorum dominorum impulsus
“ (quorum summa apud me autoritas est) tanto fruor
“ honore,

1653. "honore, ut coram serenissima majestate vestra presens con-
 ~~~~~ "fisterem.  
 Dec. 30.

"Quam, non multiplici verborum inania lenocinio de-  
 "fatigare libet, tantum aberit a specie omni effusiarum,  
 "oratio mea, quantum erit in verbis fides; in mandatis  
 "enim habeo, gentili more, & mihi ingenito, sine fuko,  
 "fide anglica, quæ nullos fefellit, sincere et candide  
 "omnia transfigere.

"Ex flamma atq; incendio, ac pene ex faucibus fati,  
 "eripuit nos toties Deus opt. max. tot ac tantis nostra  
 "causa rebus gestis, ut oculatus earum ipse testis, mira-  
 "culorum instar fere habeam, certe opulentissimæ Dei  
 "misericordiæ ineffabilisq; cœlitus in nos benevolentia  
 "monumenta non possum non agnoscere. Quo magis  
 "aptura piumq; est nobis, non fallacia in verbis, non ver-  
 "suta in moribus quantulacunq; veluti piaculari flagitio  
 "conscientias nostras contaminare.

"Non hujus rei causa veneram, ut pigmentis rhetori-  
 "cis ascititiisq; coloribus gentem nostram depingerem, nec  
 "ut alienam, licet inimicam, carbone denigrarem; neq; id  
 "operam dabo, ut serenissimæ majestatis vestræ ipsius au-  
 "gustissimas virtutes in administrando regno collaudarem;  
 "vel ut populum felicissimum et fortissimum, territoria am-  
 "plissima commemorarem, ne non cumulate cujusvis meri-  
 "tum dicendo adæquarem; et quod cum his ago, quibus  
 "tot ac tanta beneficia concesserit benignissimus Deus,  
 "quot ac quanta ut augeat, auctaq; conservet, mecum  
 "una respub. Anglorum ex animo præcatur.

"Poteram allegare utriusq; nationis conjunctissimos  
 "mores, sermonis, legumq; affinitatem, nec non utriusq;  
 "bellicos



“ bellicos animos, conciliandis utrisq; arctiore amicitiae 1653.  
 “ nexu argumenta non scripta sed nata ; sed transeo ad <sup>Dec. 30.</sup>  
 “ illud nullatenus silendum, cujus laudis fructus nos quoq;  
 “ gustavimus, feliciter censeo administratum regnum sub  
 “ majestatis vestrae auspiciis ; quod suggerit tranquilla et  
 “ halcyonia regiae nostrae virginis Elizabethae tempora, qui-  
 “ bus 40 amplius annorum spatio, nec tutelariorem popu-  
 “ lus principem, nec observantiorē princeps populum  
 “ desiderabat, quam sortem feliciorēq; serenissimae ma-  
 “ jestati vestrae et successoribus praestat Deus.

“ Neq; vero defuisset Elizabetham nostram sequentibus,  
 “ concentus ille consensusq; civium, si non sua ipsorum  
 “ regnandi impotentia obstitisset: rapere moliebantur sacro-  
 “ sancta privilegia nostra, religionem orthodoxam, liberta-  
 “ temq; legibus sancitam (quarum rerum tuendarum causa  
 “ serenissimae majestatis vestrae pater beatæ memoriæ, Gusta-  
 “ vus Adolphus, expeditionem in Germaniam in protestan-  
 “ tium subsidium, honorifice suscepit) quam prædicando in  
 “ omne ævum successu Deus benedixit ; nobis domi idem  
 “ facientibus, non justa tantum causa, sed necessaria erat,  
 “ nec numen quoq; defuit. Cognitum compertumq; nobis  
 “ est ad extorquendum vi et armis, quod frustra alias ten-  
 “ tatum est, religionem evangelicam, et avitam libertatem,  
 “ auxiliares copias conscriptas, bellum deinde indictum,  
 “ Scotis primum, sed illis obnitentibus, et recusantibus  
 “ Anglis adversus eos hac in re decertare tempestas illa sic  
 “ defævit. Sed apud Hibernos, majorem in modum re-  
 “ dintegrascit, quo in loco (quod dictu horrendum)  
 “ 200,000 hominum nefario facinore perditissimorum ho-  
 “ minum mactabantur inopinato, nulla habita ætatis aut  
 “ sexus ratione ; taceo illos innumeros qui in bello perie-  
 “ runt, nulla hujus lanienæ causa assignata, quam quod  
 “ protestantes audiebant. In Anglia, bellum hoc intesti-



1653. “ num internæcivumq; ferro atq; igne per omnes ubicun-  
 Dec. 30. “ que angulos grassabatur; non locus, non domus ulla a  
 “ furore hujus decennatis plusquam civilis belli immunis  
 “ latuit. Adhuc tamen viximus (Deo fit honor) vigemusq;  
 “ post tot mala superstites.

“ Immane quantum sanguinis effusum erat, quot ædifi-  
 “ cia vastata, urbes direptæ, veruntamen peregrinus ali-  
 “ quis sedulo oberrans terras nostras rimansq; vix tantula  
 “ belli alicujus vestigia deprehendat. Tandem misericors  
 “ Deus summam nobis pacem in Anglia, Scotia, et Hiber-  
 “ nia, insulisq; circumjacentibus, et universis nostræ  
 “ ditionis terris indulgit. In omnibus provocationibus  
 “ nostris ad exercituum Deum (quarum permultas novi-  
 “ mus) semper nostras partes agere parlamento militare de-  
 “ cernereq; beneplacitum est. At post tot palmas, quasi  
 “ divina virgula conquistas, post colloquia octies expetita  
 “ et incassum adhibita, visum est tandem benignissimi nu-  
 “ minis plenipotentî dextro, bono commodoq; Angliæ,  
 “ politiam ejus commutare.

“ Nihilominus communis eadem utilitas, quæ antiquis  
 “ fœderibus pactisq; utraq; gentes olim conjunxerat, im-  
 “ mutata adhuc integraq; permanet, easq; devincit in com-  
 “ mune ut consulant; quod ambarum interfit, et mutua  
 “ præstare utramq; utriq; officia; quod eo magis honestum  
 “ decorumq; est, ut fiat; quod nullo hactenus ævo  
 “ cognitum est, adversis denunciati belli ingignibus nos in-  
 “ vicem concertasse, quin potius mutuus utrinq; amor non  
 “ pœnitendis officiis se invicem obligans, continua anna-  
 “ lium serie animadvertitur.

“ Hisce autem consideratis rebus nec non Christiani  
 “ orbis præsertim quæ principum ac rerumpub. finitima-  
 “ rum



“ rum regionum, quæ res divini numinis providentia sic 1653.  
 “ se habent, exinde anfa arripi largior possit; et necessitas  
 “ quædam salutaris utrisq; gentibus incumbat, ut strictiore <sup>Dec. 30.</sup>  
 “ solito inter se fœdere conglutinentur, quo commercia,  
 “ tranquillitasq; mutua, præservari et curari possit, habita  
 “ etiam ratione ejus quod communiter intersit, veræ reli-  
 “ gionis protestantium; quod autem serenissima majestas  
 “ vestra, per ministros tuos publicos, in Angliam missos,  
 “ promptam se iri ac paratam testificata est, modis omni-  
 “ bus honestis, conservandi adaugendiq; antiquam bene-  
 “ volentiam olim inter hæc gentes initam.

“ Hisce alijsq; magnis de causis, et ut pateret quam nobis  
 “ grata fuerunt serenissimæ majestatis vestræ postulata,  
 “ visum est parlamento per me offerre majestatis vestræ  
 “ amicitiam reipub. Anglicanæ, et certiolem facere ma-  
 “ jestatem vestram, paratos se non tantum benevolentiam  
 “ ac fœdera antiqua inter utraq; nationes indissolubili fide  
 “ instaurare, et rescindere; sed etiam hoc amplius velle, ut  
 “ arctiore fœderis vinculo utriusq; commodo gens utraq;  
 “ inter se conjungatur.

“ Hæc quo facilius fiant, prout æquum videbitur, quod  
 “ in mandatis perticularius habeo ea de re, lubens commu-  
 “ nicabo.”

Before he had finished his letters, though it was post-  
 day, yett the queen sent, by Grave Tott, for Whitelocke  
 to come presently to her, which he did; and she asking  
 him, he told her, that his letters from England were not  
 yett brought to him, and he doubted they might be inter-  
 cepted. The queen offered him to send his letters under  
 her cover to her commissary Bonnele att London, and  
 that he should have order to send Whitelocke's letters hi-



1653. ther, in her majesty's packet; for which favour he thanked her, butt did not thinke fitt to make use of it, lest her ministers might have opportunity therby to looke into his letters: and he thought his masters would not like it well, that the queen's servants should convey their letters.

Dec. 30.

*Queen.* I have intelligence by this post, that the treaty between England and the Dutch is broken of; have you heard so?

*Wh.* I have received no letters, butt possibly it may be so: yett if there should be a peace between them, I doe not apprehend any inconvenience therby to the alliance of England and Sweden, which the Dutch could have no pretence to oppose.

*Qu.* As friends to the Dane they must.

*Wh.* Then it will be against their peace with England.

*Qu.* Heer are my letters in Dutch; you may have them translated, and take coppies of them.

*Wh.* I most humbly thanke your majesty.

*Qu.* I have considered of the discourse between us yesterday, and I think it would be very advantagious to our alliance to take the king of Spayne into it; what doe you thinke of that?

He apprehended that the queen had imparted to Piementelle their former discourse; and that he had putt her uppon this overture: to which Whitelocke answered.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Madame, I know not how farre the parlement may 1653.  
hold off, in regard that no justice hath bin yett done <sup>Dec. 30.</sup>  
uppon those who murdered our publique minister there.

*Qu.* That is a just exception ; butt in regard the Dutch  
are now making an alliance, and are very neer it, between  
them, and France, and Denmark ; it were good for us also  
to have a trinity (so her word was) of Sweden, England,  
and Spayn, in an alliance.

*Wh.* Probably some may object the difference in re-  
ligion.

*Qu.* That will be no hinderance to the force of the  
union ; the dutch and dane, being protestants, doe unite  
with the french though papists : I pray consider further of  
it ; methinks the papists have not equall liberty with others,  
as they ought to have.

*Wh.* Their tenets doe not consist with the publique  
peace of protestant princes and states, whom they esteem  
hereticks, and a good service to God to cutt them off.

*Qu.* This opinion some have vented in former times ;  
but now their interest leades them from it, and they doe  
not hold it.

*Wh.* I doubt they still retaine it.

*Qu.* I pray what religion doe you professe in England?

*Wh.* In regard your majesty doth me the honor to ca-  
techise me, I shall answer you very freely: we professe  
the true reformed protestant christian religion ; we believe



1653. in God the father, our creator; in God the son Jesus Christ,  
 Dec. 30. our redeemer; and in God the Holy Ghost, our comforter;  
 three persons, and one God.

*Qu.* That is very right, and these are the same fundamentalls with other protestant churches; butt the world reports a great number of severall different religions in England, some luthers, some calvins, some called independants, some anabaptists, and some yett higher and different from all the rest, whose names we know not.

*Wh.* Where Luther or Calvin, or others, agree with the holy scriptures, the true rule to walke by, there the profession in England agrees with them, and is butt one in the fundamentalls of it; and as to the difference of opinions in ceremonies, or some matters of worship and discipline, it is incident to men, as much as differences of countenances or of dyet; butt, in the maine, all agree. The late troubles occasioned people to take a greater liberty in all things, perticularly in matters of religion, then formerly; and there it is esteemed the highest tyranny of all others, to tyrannise over mens judgements and consciences.

*Qu.* May not such a buisnes, as that of the anabaptists att Munster, be feared by you to be the issue of these differences in religion, especially when such kind of men receive countenance. There is nothing more desperate to the peace of a state, then the fostering of such violent incendiaryes as these kind of people are; and, if they be suffered to grow and spread their opinions uncontrowled, it will prove difficult to reduce them to order againe: these new opinions are not sprung up from those who now professe them, butt have bin instigated by your ennemies.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Your majesty's observation is most right, that our <sup>1653.</sup> enemies have fomented these differences; and the more <sup>Dec. 30.</sup> care and vigilance is requisite to prevent the daungers of them, butt hold it the best way to neglect them, spreta exolefcunt: therby they will fall of themselves; when a publique notice and proceeding against them will butt make them the more considerable, men being apt to take in with a prosecuted party; and new fangles please the vulgar, who can least distinguish, and are soonest mislead. Butt many with us hold it a right for every one to be left to take care of his own soule, which concernes none butt himselfe, and that the magistrate ought not to confine, or persecute, another into his judgement for that which concerns the other only, so long as the publique peace is preserved, to which the law of England hath a strict regard; and whosoever, by his opinion, or practice, disturbs that peace, is to be severely punished.

Then the queen, who used much variety and digressions in her discourse, asked Whitelocke;

*Qu.* How doe you contrive it to write to your superiors, that others may not know what you write, in case your letters should be intercepted: doe you write by cyphers?

*Wh.* That is a way that may easily be uncyphered; butt I use to write to my generall by such a way as no flesh can ever find out, butt by agreement before-hand.

*Qu.* How is that I pray?

*Wh.* I leave with my generall, or with the secretary of the councill, two glasses of water, which I make: with the one of the waters I write my letters, having two like glasses of



1653. of waters with myfelfe. The letter, thus written, no man  
 Dec. 30. can poffibly reade, no more then if it were written with  
 fayre water ; butt wafh over this letter with the water in  
 the other glaffe, and it turnes it to blacke, and juft as if it  
 had bin written with inke.

*Qu.* That is a curious way indeed ; and have you of  
 thofe waters heer ?

*Wh.* Yes, madame, I make them myfelfe, and have left  
 of them with my general ; fo that no creature can reade his  
 or my letters without them.

*Qu.* What huge dogge is this ?

*Wh.* It is an english *mastiffe*, which I brought with me,  
 and it feems is broke loofe, and followed me even to this  
 place.

*Qu.* Is he gentle and well conditioned ?

*Wh.* The more courage they have, the more gentle they  
 are ; this is both. Your majesty may ftroake him.

*Qu.* I have heard of the fiercenefs of thefe dogges ; this  
 is very gentle.

*Wh.* They are very gentle, unleffe provoked, and of a  
 generous kind ; no creature hath more mettle or faithfull-  
 nefs then they have.

*Qu.* Is it your dogge ?

*Wh.*



*Wh.* I cannot tell ; some of my people told me, that one 1653.  
Mr. Peters sent it for a present to the queen.

Dec. 30.

*Qu.* Who is that Mr. Peters ?

*Wh.* A minister, and great servant to the parlement.

*Qu.* That Mr. Peters sent me a letter.

*Wh.* He is a great admirer of your majesty ; butt to presume to send a letter, or a dogge, for a present to a queen, I thought above him, and not fitt to be offered to your majesty.

*Qu.* I have many letters from private persons : his letter and the dogge doe belong to me, and are my goods ; and I will have them.

*Wh.* Your majesty commaunds in chiefe, and all ought to obey you, and so will I ; not only as to the letter and dogge, butt likewise as to another part of his present, a great english cheefe of his countrey-making.

*Qu.* I doe kindly accept them from him ; and see that you send my goods to me.

*Wh.* I will not fayle to obey your majesty.

The queen was pleased to take notice herselfe, and to promise to give order for supply of some accomodations which were heer wanting to Whitelocke and his company ; and so they parted in much drollerye.

After



1653. After his returne home, he mett with yett another hinderance of his dispatches.  
 Dec. 30.

The ricks hough master of Denmarke, Mnr. Woolfeldt, came to visit Whitelocke, who being informed of this gentleman before, and of his great parts and abilities, with his experience of publique affayres, especially relating to his own countrey, wherof Whitelocke thought he might make some use, and the more, bicause of the present hostility between England and Denmarke, and this gentleman's condition; he was received by Whitelocke with all courtesy, and gained into an intimate friendship and frequent conversation.

He is a serious man in buisnes, and facetious att other times; of great experience in matters of negotiation, having bin (as himselfe related) thirteen times imployed as a publique minister, and most times as an ambassador.

He marryed the king of Denmarke's daughter by a left-handed *wife* (as they are there called), that is a second wife, whom the king, having issue by his first wife, takes in marriage by the left hand; nor is permitted otherwise, nor their issue to inherit the crown.

After his many and great services, and notwithstanding his neer alliance to the king, his master, and brother, yett falling into his displeasure, bicause (as he said) he was thought too much to favour the rights and freedome of his countrey (a crime unpardonable), he had his estate confiscated and was himselfe forced, for the safety of his life, to flye out of his native countrey into Sweden for refuge; where persons, in his condition, have a kind of asylum afforded to them, by the articles of the two crowns.

He



He had much discourse of England, where he had bin 1653. twice, and once with king Charles att Yorke, after the troubles begun, whom, he said, he observed not to take good advice in the government; and theruppon he imagined before-hand what had since come to passe.

Dec. 30.

He inveighed against the archbishop Laud and others of his party, and highly commended the earles of Holland, Stafford, and others, who had bin civill to him. He was excellent company, and Whitelocke made very good use therof, by reason of the great knowledge and experience of this gentleman, not only of the affayres of Denmark, butt of most other states of Europe.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke some papers of intelligence, which he had from the french court and from Holland; wherby it appeared, that the peace was farre advanced between France, Denmarke, and the Dutch.

After all the buisnes of this day, yett Whitelocke must make up his dispatches for England, and had very many both publique and private letters to write; and although himselfe wrote one, and att the same time dictated two other letters to his secretaries (which he was known frequently to doe), yett he was faine to sitt up almost all night before his pacquett could be finished.

Mr. Clavinger, an english marchant att Stockholme, brought to Whitelocke two pacquets of letters from England, which came by the post: in them he had sad letters from his wife of her being ill, and of her grieve for his absence. He had also severall letters of newes from private friends; and from the secretary of the councell, Mr. Thurloe, an exact account concerning the dutch treaty; that it yett

31.



1653. proceeded butt lento pede; that Chanut, the french am-  
 ~~~~~  
 Dec. 31. bassador in Holland, laboured there to hinder it, and this
 he did underhand, butt publicquely spake wholly to further
 it; and the like was done by Burdeaux, the french ambaf-
 dor in England; butt the Spanyard stood still and looked
 on; of the buisnes of the highlanders in Scotland, and the
 inconsiderableness of them; with all other, both forein and
 domestick newes, of any consequence.

By this constant and perfect intelligence from Thurloe,
 Whitelocke had great advantage in his negotiation, being
 thereby inabled to give a perfect account of affayres, not
 only of his own countrey, butt of most other places, to the
 great satisfaction of the queen, and her court, and gran-
 dees, with whom Whitelocke had frequent converse; and
 from his private and publique letters was able to satisfy
 their curious inquiryes after newes: so that it came to passe,
 that no newes (especially from England) was authentique,
 untill it were ratified by the english ambassador, which
 rayfed the credit both of him and his intelligence.

He caused an abstract of his newes to be written in
 french out of his letters, and carryed it late that night to
 the queen, who thanked him for it. The frost was so hard
 and flipperye, that he was faine to walke on foote, and to
 be supported by two of his servants.

The queen, among other things, fell into discourse with
 him concerning king James, who, she had heard, was
 poysoned, and his son prince Henry also; butt Whitelocke
 declined this discourse, and to speake reproachfully of the
 dead.

Then

Then the queen discoursed of the great duke of Bucks 1653.
 (as she called him) and of his extraction and favour, wher-
 of Whitelocke gave her a perticular account; and she de-
 manding, how he came to be so fully instructed of the duke,
 his son, and family; he told her, there was a neere alliance
 between the duke and Whitelocke's children; wherof she
 was very inquisitive. Dec. 31.

She also inquired concerning the old earle of Arundell,
 the countess of Kent, and divers of our nobility; and of
 Mr. Selden, Patrick Young, some of the bishops, and
 divers others of our learned men, of whom Whitelocke was
 able to give her an account, and did no injury to any of
 them; in so much that the queen said, she marvayled to
 heare one give so full an account of so many, and not to
 speake reproachfully of any of them, not of an ennemy,
 butt to give every one his due.

Whitelocke told her, that he held it disingenious to re-
 proach princes, or any others, behind their backes, and
 more honourable to speake plainly to themselves, then to
 back-bite any one: the queen sayd, that was honorable,
 and very becomming a gentleman.

She then commended the library att St. James's, and the
 rare MSS. there, of some wherof she desired to gett coppies:
 Whitelocke told her, he was the more capable to serve her
 therin, bicause he was keeper of that library; and promif-
 ed, att his returne to England, to indeavour to doe her
 majesty that service which she desired.

One would have imagined that England had bin her
 native countrey, so well was she furnished with the charac-
 ters of most persons of consideration there, and with the

1653. story of the nation, and full of inquiries touching those
 Dec. 31. matters; wherein Whitelocke found his having bin acquainted
 with persons and affayres to be a great advantage to
 him.

The queen spake much for king of Spayne's being taken
 into the alliance with England and Sweden; and White-
 locke prayed her to putt it into her memoire of propofalls,
 and he would transmitt it to his superiors.

She told Whitelocke, she wondered that he had no let-
 ters from his general, and sayd, she used to write to her
 forein publique ministers; butt Whitelocke said, his gene-
 ral seldome did so, butt those letters were from the councill
 of state.

She desired Whitelocke's assistance in a buisnes in Eng-
 land concerning one of her servants, the lady Jane Ruthen,
 daughter to general Ruthen; wherein Whitelocke promised
 his service.

He heard there would be a balle to-morrow att the court,
 and that he should be invited to it; butt, by intimation to
 Grave Tott, and senator Vanderlin, to excuse him if he
 were thought on, that neither he nor any of his company
 could be there, bicause it was the Lord's day, he prevent-
 ed the invitation, and his denyall of it.

JANUARY.

J A N U A R Y.

IT being made known to Whitelocke by his officers, that 1653.
 some of his family had bin disorderly, and transgressed ^{Jan. 1.}
 his orders, he thought fitt to begin the new year with an
 admonition to them: and this being the *Lord's day*, after
 the morning sermon, himselfe spake to them to this effect:

“ We have received good and seasonable instructions by
 “ the sermon this morning, to which I shall take the liberty
 “ of a smalle addition as father of the family, wishing and
 “ indeavouring the good of your souls and bodyes.

“ I am sorry that my words to some of you must be, as
 “ the apostle saide, *we heare that there are some which walke*
 “ *among you disorderly, working not att all, butt are buisy*
 “ *bodyes.*

“ Some of you goe to court or meeting with strangers,
 “ perhaps imployed to sift you, gaine from you characters
 “ of some of your company, or of your ruler, unbefitting
 “ you to give, and prejudiciall to what we all wish; they
 “ talke of newes and buisnes above their capacity: the
 “ apostle gives such a character; *they are unruly and*
 “ *vaine talkers, they learne to be idle, wandring about*
 “ *from house to house; and not only idle, butt tatlers also*
 “ *and buisy bodyes, speaking things which they ought not.*
 “ Such I heare is the condition and carriage of some of you;
 “ it is unworthy in any; it is such as I shall not tollerate,

“ and

1653. “ and therefore admonish such, as are conscious of this fault,
 Jan. 1. “ to reforme it.

“ Others among you I heare are idle, inferiors not doing
 “ the worke appointed them, and superiors spending their
 “ pretious time vainly; this is a fault to be reproved, and
 “ it seems strange to me, that any who can reade should so
 “ loose their howers, and not know what to doe, when there
 “ are bibles to be had among us, the reading wherof is the
 “ the most delightfull subject in the world to any soul en-
 “ lightened with the least sparke of grace: this vice and sin
 “ of idlenes I exhort you to reforme, lest the curse fall uppon
 “ you, which the wise man prophesyeth, *slothfullness*
 “ *casteth into a deep sleep, and an idle soul shall suffer*
 “ *hunger.*

“ Idlenes is a temptation to debauchery: I cannot tell
 “ (saith one) how to passe the time, and therefore goes with
 “ others into a house of dronkenness or other wickedness.
 “ For shame! doe not say you know not how to passe the
 “ time, when you have civill company to discourse of good
 “ things, when you have bookes, when the bible is not pro-
 “ hibited: your time passeth away fast enough; and the
 “ youngest or best of you cannot recall a moment of it.

“ Give no cause to strangers to reproach you, to say,
 “ behold these english professors infected with the worst of
 “ vices; remember the great goodnes of God to us in our
 “ preservation by sea and by land, in remote countryes, in
 “ greatest difficulties and daungers; lett this love of God
 “ constraine us to repentance and amendment of life. Such
 “ disorders as I hear of, and some of you know that you
 “ have fallen into, I must not, I cannot, I will not beare.
 “ We ought to walke in some measure answerable to the
 “ mercyes

“mercyes we have received, which, if we doe, we shall 1653.
 “therby bring honor to our God, to our countrey, to our
 “profession of religion, and to ourselves; butt if we walke Jan. 1.
 “disorderly, we shall dishonor the name of God, disgrace
 “our deare countrey, scandalize our religion, and bring
 “contempt and punishment uppon ourselves: to avoid
 “which, lett us not be wanting in our own indeavours,
 “nor in our humble prayers to God; lett every one watch
 “over himselfe, and over one another, and I shall, with
 “my best care, watch over you all, and shall not afford
 “the least connivance to any breach of my orders.

“I heare of a ball or dauncing this night intended att
 “the court; most of you know the issue of the like in
 “England. You all know I prohibite not honest lawfull
 “recreations; butt where sin accompanies them, I shall
 “beare my testimony against them: such I account this
 “ball on this day, and therefore have refused to be present
 “att it, and strictly doe forbid you all, that not one of my
 “company doe appeare att it. The apostles rule is safe,
 “*abstaine from all appearance of evill.*”

This being new-year's-day, the queen's guards, trumpetts,
 drummes, huntsmen, forty lacquais, coachmen, and other
 fervants, came to Whitelocke's lodging, and desired *new-*
year's guifts with strange earnestness, and dishonorably
 enough.

Whitelocke being informed that it was usuall for ambaf-
 fadors to bestow these new-year's guifts, and considering
 how needy and clamorous these persons were, did thinke
 fitt to bestow somthing uppon them; and where he gave,
 he did it liberally, suitable to his quality, and the honor of
 his country.

The

1653. The master of the ceremonies came to town this day (the
 usuall time of their travayle), visited Whitelocke, whom
 Jan. 1. he acquainted with the want of beds and accomodations for
 his servants, which he promised should be supplied.

2. More of the queen's servants came for new-year's gifts,
 and were not to be denied.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and asking him how he
 was accomodated, Whitelocke told him, that in ten days
 time, which he had bin heer, he could not procure beds for
 his servants, neither for money, nor by the queen's officers ;
 who excused it uppon the boore's disobeying orders for it :
 butt his people, and consequently himselfe, could not long
 continue heer without them in this season.

Piementelle blamed the officers, and said, he would ac-
 quaint the queen with it, and that it should be remedied.
 Yett this unhanfome and uncharitable neglect towards stran-
 gers was continued by the queen's officers a long time after,
 and money could not remedy it : but Whitelocke feared
 sicknes in his family by it.

Their best comfort was good fires, wherof Whitelooke did
 not stint them ; so that he usuallly spent, in one day in his
 house, thirty of their loads of wood, which is about fifteen
 of our loades.

Whilst Piementelle and Whitelocke were discourfing, the
 queen came by through the town in her sledde, with divers
 of her ladyes and servants waiting on her in sleddes to take
 the aier.

These

These fleddes are neatly made, most of them curiously wrought and carved, some richly painted and gilded; the shape of them is not unlike a little ship boate, butt shorter: they are fastened uppon two pieces of timber, one uppon each side, which carry them up, and sinoothly slide uppon the ice and frozen snow. They are made generally butt for one person to sitt in: behind the fledde, uppon one of the pieces of timber, he stands that guides the fledde horse by a long reine. When the queen rides, commonly some earle or other great gallant guides the fledde: the ladyes have their gallants also, to whom they allow the like honor.

The fledde is drawne by one horse, whose harness they covet to have very rich, according to their qualityes; many of them are sett with studdes of silver, and thicke with little belles of silver or of brasse, which make a cheerfull and great noise and jingle, being shaken by a large trotting horse, and when a dozen or twenty of them passe together; yett they goe easier than our wherryes.

The inside of the fledde is usually lined, the bottom and sides of it with bears skin, or some other furre: the ladyes take the aier in them in the winter time, when they are only usefull in the mid-day, the sun then generally shining clear and warme, and no wind stirring, which makes it pleasant; butt if there be the least wind, it cuttes so sharpe, that there is no pleasure to goe abroad.

The ladyes and their fleddiers are very gallant, with great plumes in their hatts; and the horses have the like on their heads and buttockes.

Piementelle staying with Whitelocke above three howers, he was intertained with Whitelocke's musick; the rector

1653. chori was Mr. Ingelo, excellent in that as in other faculties,
 Jan. 2. and seven or eight of his gentlemen, well skilled both in
 vocall and instrumentall musicke; and Whitelocke himselve
 sometimes in private did beare his part with them, having
 bin in his younger dayes a master and composer of musick.
 He thought it not unseasonable in the long winter nights to
 use this recreation, and therby his people were the better
 kept together, and from disorderly going abroad.

Piementelle highly and deservedly commended White-
 locke's musick, and acquainted the queen with it, who was
 a great lover therof.

Att this time, in great secrecy, Piementelle gave unto White-
 locke a copy of the letter, which the queen told Whitelocke
 she received from the king of Scotts, and he believed she con-
 trived to be thus conveyed to Whitelocke: the letter was this *.
 * See Ap-
 pendix E.

The letter hath this english translation.

“ Sir, my brother,

“ The knight of Balladin hath given me the letter, which
 “ you have taken the paines to write unto me, and hath
 “ proposed to me the commission which you gave him in
 “ charge; he hath acted throughout as a man of honor, and
 “ hath testified as much faithfullness and zeal for your ser-
 “ vice, as you could desire of him: I owe this testimony for
 “ him, to the end you may not impute to him the bad
 “ success of this negotiation. It is the injury of chance
 “ which doth render your ills incurable; and I esteem my
 “ selfe unhappy to be in such a condition, that I cannot
 “ bring you any remedy. You will doubtless have the
 “ bountey to permit your friends to have a care of their
 “ own

10 " own interest, when they judge themselves incapable, as 1653.
 " to yours; I doe avow unto you with regret, that I am Jan. 2.
 " more then any other; and that I cannot consent to the
 " propofalls which you have made unto me, without pre-
 " judice to the good of an estate, whose interests ought to
 " be dear unto me above all confideration. In the meane
 " while, I wish that time, which brings remedy to all forts
 " of evils, may att length putt an end to your adverfityes,
 " and that it may furnish me with occasions to lessen them,
 " without doing any thing contrary to those obligations,
 " which only have the whole power over me. I am,

" Sir, my brother,

" your most affectionate sister,

" CHRISTINE."

After some discourse uppon this letter, Piementelle tooke his leave of Whitelocke.

Whitelocke was earnestly sollicitated by an Italian gentleman, who stiled himselfe le premier valet de la garderobe de sa majesté, first servant of her wardrobe, that his goods being taken by a private man of war of England, that Whitelocke would procure the restitution of them; and he, finding the gentleman in favour with the queen, promised to write into England, which he did, for that purpose.

One Toby Tredorus, a German, a kind of agent in this court for the towns of Stetin, Stralsunt, and other ports and places in Pomerland, by commaund (as he sayd) of his superiors, made application to Whitelocke to mediate with the parlement, that the ships of those townes might have free passage by sea, without disturbance of the parlement's ships; and, in order therunto, he presented to Whitelocke a printed

1653. booke of latin verses, describing the scituation and commodities of those towns, and a letter in latin containing his request, wherein he gave the title of most serene and most potent common-wealth of England. Whitelocke wrote into England about this matter.

Jan. 2.

3. Uppon the good success of the queen's servants, the lacquays of prince Adolphe came to Whitelocke to demand new-year's gifts; butt he sent them answer, that he was no suitor att court, nor had they done him any service, therefore he held himselfe not ingaged to bestowe new-year's gifts on them.

Whitelocke was visited with great respect and proffer of service by Mr. Ravius, a German gentleman; he had formerly bin in England, whither he came for the freedome of his conscience and religion: those then in power in England, finding him to be of extraordinary parts and learning (especially in the easterne touns) wherein he excelled most in this age, and comming to England as to a sanctuary, he was preferred to a professor's place in Oxford, and had his pension duely payd him. Butt shortly after, his learning being eminent, he was invited with large promises into Sweden, whither he went for his advantage; and in this university of Upsale was made hebrew professor with a pension of 500 ricks dollers a year: butt (as is usuall) this being long unpayd, Ravius fell into want, wherof he made complaint to Whitelocke, who pittying his condition, and finding that, by his marriage with a bishop's daughter, he had relations and interest with divers great men (who nevertheless would not supply his wants), Whitelocke thought good to supply them, and, by Mr. Ingelo his chaplein, sent him privately 5 l. which he scrupeld not gratefully to accept.

By

By him Whitelocke had characters of several great men, 1653.
and of their inclinations and affections to his buisnes ; and ^{Jan. 3.}
uppon divers occasions Whitelocke imployed him, and made
good use of him. He had rare Arabick manuscripts, which
Whitelocke desired to have bought, but could not gett them.

Whitelocke visited the lady Jane Ruthen, concerning
whom the queen had spoken to him ; and in that or any
other buisnes, Whitelocke professed all readyness to doe her
service ; which visit she tooke as a great respect, and told the
queen of it : and Whitelocke found, that, among other visits,
those to ladyes are not unnecessary for an ambassador,
especially in the court of a queen, whose eare they have
more then her counsellors ; and, in all states, their influence
in the highest affayres is not to be despised.

Whitelocke received civilities and respect from divers of
the queen's ladyes, with whom he had sometimes oppor-
tunity to discourse when he waited on the queen ; and most
of them had the french language : and therefore Whitelocke
tooke occasion sometimes to visit them, and to discourse
with them in drollery, yett of such matters as he was willing
should come to the queen's eare, and he knew the ladyes
would not fayle to relate to her majesty ; and this he found
they did, and not to the disadvantage of him or his buisnes,
through the good opinion which his civility had gained with
them.

Meredith was sent to court with the present of Mr.
Peters to the queen, who merrily, and with expressions of
contentment, accepted of them, though from so meane a
hand ; so farre is she from pride or any show of scorn-
fullnesse.

This

1653.

Jan. 4.

This course was constantly observed by Whitelocke in all his visits, that he never gave any to persons (of what quality soever) who had not first visited him; and then he was obliged, by the common rules of civility and the usages of all places (especially of these countryes), to requite every visit, or else great exceptions would be taken, and censures of pride in the neglecter of them: they serve publique ministers for the carrying on their buisnes, which is hindred by the omission of them.

The kindness of the visits workes much uppon the spirits of those people; and the freedome of discourse then, more then att the formall meetings, doth ripen and facilitate their buisnes.

They wondered att the order of our parlement, prohibiting their members to visit or conferre with forein publique ministers; wherby the statesmen here were of opinion, that the parlement retarded their own buisnes, and showed a strange jealousy of one another, and a distrust of the fidelity of their friends; a humor usuall among the Italians, and the Venetians have the like order against visits of publique forein ministers: butt they said, that the northerne people were most plaine hearted, used to more freedome in their discourses and visits, and of a better nature then so to suspect one another; that if a man were dishonest, and designed to betray his trust, such an order would be little obstacle, butt easily deluded; butt, by this use of visiting one another, and of a franknes in their conferences, they found good advantage in their buisnes, and the protraction and delay therof to be much avoyded.

On this subject, among other things, Whitelocke had discourse this day with Mnr. Walfeldt, whom he visited, and spent much time in his good company, from whom he learned many things of great consequence, and received of him fundry most materiall matters relating to the peace of England; wherof Whitelocke gave account by letters in cypher to the councell, and to the generall in England; to whom he also sent a copy of the king of Scotts his letter to the queen of Sweden. 1653.
Jan. 4.

Whitelocke had a private audience with the queen above two howers together: she was pleased first to discourse of private matters. 5.

Qu. Hath your generall a wife and children?

Wh. He hath a wife and five children.

Qu. What family were he and his wife of?

Wh. He was of the family of a Baron's, and his wife the like from Bouchiers.

Qu. Of what parts are his children?

Wh. His two sons and three daughters are all of good parts, and liberall education.

Qu. Some unworthy mention and mistakes have bin made to me of them.

Wh. Your majesty knowes that to be frequent; butt from me you shall have nothing butt trueth.

Qu. Much

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Jan. 5.

Qu. Much of the story of your generall hath some paralell with that of my auncestor Gustavus the first, who, from a private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the title of marshall of Sweden, bicause he had risen up and rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which the king of Denmarke had putt upon them, and expelled that king; and, for his reward, he was att last elected king of Sweden; and I believe that your generall will be king of England in conclusion.

Wh. Pardon me, madame, that cannot be, bicause England is resolved into a common-wealth; and my generall hath already sufficient power and greatnes, as generall of all their forces both by sea and land, which may content him.

Qu. Resolve what you will, I believe he resolves to be king; and hardly can any power or greatnes be called sufficient, when the nature of man is so prone (as in these dayes) to all ambition.

Wh. I find no such nature in my generall.

Qu. It may easily be concealed till an opportunity serve, and then it will show itselfe.

Wh. All are mortall men, subject to affections.

Qu. How many wives have you had?

Wh. I have had three wives.

Qu. Have you had children by all of them?

Wh.

Wh. Yes, by every one of them.

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Qu. Par Dieu vous estes incorrigible.

Wh. Madame, I have bin a true servant to your sexe; and as it was my duety to be kind to my wives, so I count it my happines, and riches, and strength, to have many children.

Qu. You have done well; and if children doe prove well, it is no smalle nor usuall blessing.

Much more discourse her majesty moved of private matters, wherby she made experiment if the trueth would be told her; it appearing that the perticulars were known to her before, and that she had good intelligence.

She was pleased with some earnestnes to say;

Qu. You are hypocrites and dissemblers.

Wh. For myselfe, I can have little of design (especially in your countrey) to dissemble: I always hated hippocrisy, as a thing unworthy a christian or a gentleman; and my general hath not bin charged with that odious crime.

Qu. I doe not meane either your generall or your selfe; butt I thinke that in England there are many, who make profession of more holyness then is in them, hoping for advantage by it.

Wh. I doubt there may be some such in England, especially in this time, when (through the goodnes of God) religion is become the chief interest of the nation; and there are of these likewise in other countreyes: butt when they

1653. come to be found out with us (as such cannot be long undiscovered), they loose their ayme and credit, and their dis-
 Jan. 5. sembling is scorned and punished.

Qu. Is dauncing prohibited in England?

Wh. Some there doe not not approve it; butt it is not prohibited by any law, and many there doe use it. Butt I am loth to speake my poore opinion on this argument, lest I may give offence to your majesty.

Qu. I pray speake freely; it will not offend me, butt I shall take it well from you.

Wh. Then, madame, with all due regard and submission to your better judgement, give me leave to say, that to have balles, dauncing, and such pastimes uppon the Lord's day, I humbly apprehend to be displeasing to God, who hath commaunded that day to be sett aparte for his speciall worship and service, and no workes (except of mercy and necessity) are to be done on that day, much lesse sports to be used: there is time enough besides, and, uppon other dayes, dauncing and other harmles and honest recreations are and may be used; and I humbly present it to your majesty's judgement, whither it may not offend God to allow any prophanation of his day, which is too common heer and elsewhere; and I doubt not butt your majesty lookes uppon it as your perticular duety to give a good example heerin to your people, and not to permit balles on that day. You will doe an act of piety, and most becomming a christian queen, to restraine and punish the sin of prophanation of the Lord's day, as likewise fwearing and debauchery, too much used and countenanced in these parts; and pardon me, madame, if I say, I thinke God requires this att your hands.

This

This, and much more to the like effect, Whitelocke spake 1653.
 with plainess, yett fitting respects and apologyes to the ^{Jan. 5.}
 queen, hoping that God did putt it into his heart to speak
 thus freely to her, in a matter wherein the honor of God
 was so much concerned; and it tooke so good effect, that,
 after that, the queen had no more balles in her court on the
 Lord's day.

After these discourses, the queen fell uppon the buisnes
 of the Sundt, to the like effect as formerly, and sayd to
 Whitelocke;

Qu. Have you power to consent to such propofalls as I
 shall make touching the Sundt?

Wh. According to the memoire which I have given in,
 I have power to conclude.

Qu. That is very much, and the things in that memoire
 are very reasonable; butt as to any perticulars concerning
 the Sundt, have you any power to conclude?

Wh. I cannot tell whether my power will extend to the
 perticulars, untill I know what the perticulars are; and then,
 in case I have not power to conclude, I shall presently transf-
 mitt them to my superiors, who will give further directions
 as shall be reasonable.

Qu. It may be inconvenient for me to make propofalls in
 such a buisnes as this, and then perhaps be denyed; and so
 I should incurre very great prejudice.

Wh. Madame, the same objection might have bin made
 by me as to my delivering in of propofalls to your majesty;

1653. butt, to avoyd the objection, if you please to give your pro-
posalls in writing to me, I will send them as from my selfe to
Jan. 5. my superiors, as things collected by me uppon discourse:
yett pardon me if I see not the reason why your majesty
should sticke att making propofalls to the parlement, more
than the parlement did att making propofalls to your
majesty.

Qu. What way must this buisnes of the Sundt be done?

Wh. I know butt two wayes, by sea and by land; and
both will be heer necessary.

Qu. How many ships doe you thinke the parlement will
lend me for this designe?

Wh. I believe they will send a considerable number of
ships uppon this or any other designe to be undertaken by
them.

Qu. I desire butt twenty or thirty ships, and that the par-
lement, with the residue of their fleet, would attend the
hollanders.

Wh. It is probable that the hollanders, uppon such a de-
signe, may advance with their fleet to the Sundt.

Qu. Then they will be between my fleet and twenty
english ships on the one side, and the residue of the english
fleet on the other side. I doe not desire above twenty or
thirty english ships, and some money.

Wh. England hath great occasions for money for the pay
of their armies and great navies, especially in this time of
their

their wars, both att land and sea; and this will be principally your majesty's buisnes, to open the trade into your feas; and I suppose you will not expect ships and money too from others to doe your worke. 1653. Jan. 5.

Qu. I am in great want of money, and England hath money enough.

Wh. They have enough for their occasions.

Qu. And some to spare; which I have not.

Wh. I doe not see your majesty to waite the revenues of your crown in gallantry of clothes for your own person.

Qu. I am the least curious in clothes of any woman, especially now I am in the countrey.

Wh. Your wearing plaine clothes makes them rich.

Qu. My chancellor will be in town shortly.

Wh. Your majesty is happy in such a servant of so great wisdom, experience, and fidelity.

Qu. He is a very able and honest man; he understands this buisnes well: I will give you a memoire concerning the Sundt.

It was not thought fitt by Whitelocke to presse this buisnes further, uppon this hint, that the chancellor was expected, whom he hoped to find a friend to him and his buisnes, as he really proved; and Whitelocke thought, that if he should proceed

1653. proceed too farre before the old man came, that he might be
 {
 Jan. 5. displeased, which he was the more cautious to avoyd, uppon
 something spoken by Mnr. Berkman.

This person was a burgher's son of Stockholm, and having travayled and gained some languages and learning, he was sent as secretary to Lagerfeldt into England, where he came acquainted with Whitelocke, who, being to take his journey as ambaffador to Sweden, Lagerfeldt desired that Berkman might accompany Whitelocke in his voyage to take care of his accomodations: Whitelocke thought not fitt to deny this, though he believed, and found, that he would be rather a spye then a friend, and more chargeable then usefull.

Yett in the voyage he treated him with all courtesy, and, by discourse, gott as much as he could out of him, concerning the queen and her counsell, and the publique persons and affayres of his countrey.

Att Gothenbergh he seemed officious, and from thence posted to court to acquaint them with Whitelocke's arrivall, and returned with great speed, and tooke pains by the way for Whitelocke's accomodations.

Att Ubsale, he was very conversant in Whitelocke's family, and respectfully used, and the more, bicause he had gotten a little english. Whitelocke disliked his peoples being much with him, who was excessively given to the common vice of tipling; and in his cuppes (as Whitelocke was this day informed by Mr. Claveing) he would abusively raunt against the common-wealth of England, and their ambaffador, saying, that no justice could be had in England for the swedish ships detained there as prize; that he knew

no

no reason why the english ambaffador fhould have any ^{1653.} respect in Sweden, till their people had right in England; ^{Jan. 5.} that the chancellor was expected fuddeinly heer, would take order that Whitelocke fhould not have fo much favour heer, till the Swedes had more juftice in England; with the like fpeeches.

Whitelocke tooke no notice heerof, butt (as ambaffadors muft doe) continued his civilities to Berkman; butt when he was filled with good meate and drinke att Whitelocke's table, before him and others, Whitelocke tooke occafion to difcourfe of the fwedifh fhips carrying contrabande goods to the dutch, for which they were detained prize; and vindicated the honor and juftice of the parlement, and their refpects to their friends, perticularly to the Swedes, wherof he gave instances; which Berkman was then fo farre from contradicting, that he afferted the fame things with Whitelocke, who, inftead of contefting with Berkman, thought it better to ftop his mouth with twenty pieces of english gould, which he now gave him, to defray his expences from Gothenbergh to the court and back agayne, which he (after their cuftome) was not backward to accept; and by that, and the promife of a future reward when the treaty fhould be finifhed, he was made ferviceable to it.

Matters of ceremonie are heer in great obfervance, and the neglect of them highly refented, and offensive: this caufed a great warynefs in Whitelocke not to offend in that omiffion, the performance wherof was cheape and eafy.

Therefore, he was therin obfervant to the great men, and efpecially to the queen; and feeing the high efteem and pleafure which her majefty had of balles, dauncing, and
muficke,

1653. musicke, which recreations being modestly and moderately
 Jan. 5. ly used, he held indifferent things, and not unlawfull in
 themselves; and that it was fitt for him, being invited by
 the queen, to be present att them, att fitt times, lest he
 should be judged too severe and morose, and too much to
 censure those who used and delighted in them, and desired
 his company att them: and he having bin before invited to
 a ball, and refusing to come, bicause it was on the Lord's
 day, being now agayne solemnly invited from the queen
 herselfe, to a ball this night att court, he thought, if he
 should agayne refuse to come to it, the queen might be
 distasted, and thinke her favour slighted; he therfore re-
 solved to go to the ball this night; and after nine a'clocke,
 the master of the ceremonies (in a speciall complement)
 brought two of the queen's coaches to attend him to the
 castle. When he came into the roome where the queen
 was, she bid him wellcome, with more then ordinary re-
 spect, and ledd him into a large roome, where she usually
 heares sermons, and, att other times, it is for musick and
 dauncing.

There was present a great number of ladyes and gal-
 lants; her chayre of state was uppon a foot carpet: a
 little distance from it, on the right hand, were five or six
 stooles, where Whitelocke sate next to the queen, and after
 him, prince Adolphe, and other grandees; on the left hand
 sate about twenty ladyes, very gallant, after the french
 mode. The queen's musick was in a place behind the chayre
 of state, seven or eight violins, with base violes, flutes, and
 citterns, perfecte masters.

The queen, with her ladyes and courtiers, first daunced
 the brawles, then french daunces, in which the lady Jane
 Ruthen tooke forth captain Whitelocke; and he and sever-

rall others of Whitelocke's gentlemen were taken forth by 1653.
 the swedish ladyes, to daunce english countrey daunces; Jan. 5.
 wherin the english gentlemen were expert, and taught them
 some new ones.

The queen took delight in those english daunces, and
 herselfe daunced with more life and spirit then the rest of
 the ladyes, or then any he had seen: she was pleased seve-
 rall times to doe Whitelocke the honor to come to him,
 and discourse with him, whilest the rest were dauncing.
 She asked him, how he liked their sports? he told her, he
 liked them very well, and thought himselfe in England:
 she asked, why so? he answered, bicause he saw the sports
 and daunces of his own countrey so lively acted heer.
 After he had fully commended the dauncing, musick, and
 company, and her majesty, who was above all, about
 twelve a'clocke att night the meeting brake up, and White-
 locke was brought home agayne with the queen's coaches.

The ricks hough master Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne sent
 Whitelocke a piece of venison of an elke; and he invited
 the Grave and Mr. Woolfeldt to come eate of it with him
 att dinner to-morrow.

Mr. Woolfeldt, drolling with the queen, told her, that the 6.
 english ambassador had wrought a great cure uppon the
 Holland resident, and had taught him a better garbe and
 deportment, since his coming to court, then he had before;
 for now he did not hold up his head so high as formerly,
 nor was his gate so light and frisking as it was before the
 comming of the english ambassador, who had therby much
 improved the resident.

1653. Woolfeldt and Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne came to dinner to Whitelocke: Oxenstierne gave the precedence to Jan. 6. Woolfeldt, because he had bin ricks hough master of Denmarke; and such is the civility and courtesy of these countreyes, that what charge soever a man hath once had in publique employment, as an ambassador, generall, senator, and the like, though he be afterwards out of those offices, yett the title and precedence, which he once had by them, is afforded to him during his life.

And wheras the custome of England is, that the master of the house takes precedence of all others in his own house, as Whitelocke now did; which, uppon intimation from the master of the ceremonies, he afterwards rectified, it being the usage of these countreyes for the master to give *precedence* to all of quality that come to him in his house. The straunger goes first into it, hath the place att the table, sitting downe, and returning, goes first out; in which ceremonies they are very punctuall, and an ambassador setts every one of the senatorian order, att his own table, before himselfe.

Prince Adolphe having appointed to give Whitelocke a visit this afternoon, Whitelocke appointed some of his lacquayes to attend and watch the prince's comming, and to give him timely notice therof, that he might meet the prince att the doore of his house; butt, through his servants neglect, Whitelocke mett the prince a few steppes short of his doore, and then excused his neglect to the prince, laying the fault uppon his servants, whose it was: yett the prince was not satisfyed, butt afterwards spake of it att court, and it came to the queen's care, to whom also Whitelocke made an apology for it; and yett it was hardly pardoned.

The

The superintendent of Gothenbergh wrote a civill latin letter to Whitelocke, to pray him to take occasion, in his discourse with the queen, to mention the superintendent's son for some preferment, which Whitelocke thought not proper for him (being ambassador from a forrein state) to doe: butt having occasion given him by the queen in her discourse, he commended James Lennæus, the superintendent's son, to her majesty; and it was his good fortune afterwards to have preferment.

1653.

Jan. 6.

Visits were made by Whitelocke to Grave Gabriel Oxenstiërne, who was senator, steward of the queen's house, and who had the charge of her sports of hunting, and the like: he and his father are both senators, and his uncle the chancellor, and his two sons senators, and of that name and family together senators.

7.

8.

Also to Grave Bannier, governor of Ubsale and the adjacent territory; a gentleman well qualifed, son to the general Banniere, of whom is frequent mention in the story of king Gustavus: and such is the honor of this state, that they are not only full of favour to their old servants themselves, butt likewise to their children and relations.

He also visited the baron Bond, a senator, a gentleman of good parts, and of an antient and honourable extraction; some of his family having bin elected kings.

His name, Bond or Bundt, signifies as with us, a servant, or bond-man; he had travayled much, and gayned languages, perticularly english, which he delighted to speake, and of England, where he had bin: he was kinsman to the chancellor, and in favour with him, which most of the grandees aimed att, next to the queen's.

1653.

Jan. 7.

These gentlemen had first visited Whitelocke, and were then, and att this time, full of civility and respect to him; and he had opportunity, by discourse with them, to facilitate the buisnes of his negotiation, wherein he omitted no occasion.

The queen's Italian musitians came to hear the musick in his house, and gave it great and due commendation.

The chancellor came to town this day, and sent Mr. Berkman to Whitelocke the same day to visit him, who made many expressions of civility, and complement to him, from the chancellor.

8. *The Lord's day*, yett after sermons Whitelocke thought fitt to send his son James to visit the chancellor, and to congratulate his safe arrivall att Upsale. Berkman accompanied James to the chancellor's lodging, who received the message with great respect, and the more (as Berkman said) bicause it was delivered in latin. He excused Whitelocke's ill intertainment by the way, and heer; which he said was not according as the queen desired: he made many professions of his respect to the common-wealth of England, and to their ambassador.

Yett was there no complement for a personal visit of one another: the master of the ceremonies, and others, pressed Whitelocke to make the first visit to the chancellor, as a complement expected from him, and which was done by other ambassadors to that great and prime minister of state the ricks chancellor. Whitelocke told them plainely, that unlesse the chancellor did first visite him, that he would not visite the chancellor; and this he did for the honor of his nation, and believing (as it fell out) that for this carriage,

6

though

though towards himfelfe, the chancellor would have the 1653.
better opinion of him. Att this diftance they flood; White-
locke refufing to give the firft vifit, bicaufe he was the am-
baffador of England, which he did heer reprefent, and the
chancellor was a fubject in his own countrey.

Jan. 8.

The queen heard of this, and feemed to expoftulate why Whitelocke fhould not afforde her fervant the fame refpect as other ambaffadors did, and was told, that Whitelocke anfweared, that other mens actions muft not guide his, nor could they anfwear for his actions; nor would he doe any thing which he doubted might reflect uppon the honor of his nation, although others did fo; that if no question had bin ftirred about the firft vifit, he fhould not have infifted on it, butt the question being moved, he thought he could not doe it without prejudice to the right of England. The queen, when fhe faw Whitelocke would not be altered, faid, that he did heerin like a perfon who underftood his right, and was carefull of his nation's honor, which fhe commended, and faid, fhe would take order that her chancellor fhould give Whitelocke the firft vifite.

Whitelocke was vifited by the fyndick of Gothenbergh, who had attended him in his journey to Ubfale, and tooke much paynes uppon the way, for horfes, waggons, and other accommodations for Whitelocke and his people; in requital wherof, Whitelocke thought fitt to make him a prefent of thirty pieces of english gould, which, without fcruple, was thankfully accepted.

Presently after dinner, the chancellor's fecretary came 9.
to Whitelocke with a meffage from his lord, to knowe if he would be within att two a'clock, the chancellor would
come

1653. come to visit him: Whitelocke sayd, he should take his
 ~~~~~ visit for a great honor, and should be within.  
 Jan. 9.

About three a'clock the chancellor came: Whitelocke mett him att the doore of his house; he was in his coach with six horses, though his lodging was not farre of; ten or twelve gentlemen, well habited, walking on foot, and four lacquayes attended him.

Whitelocke offered to conduct him into a lower chamber, bicause he understood it was troublesom to the old man, to goe up so many stayres as to his roomes of intertainment; and he was willing to accept of this ease, and was brought by Whitelocke into his steward's chamber, which he had caused to be hung with his own rich hangings full of filke and gould: he desired to sitt with his backe, or one side, to the fire, saying, that the light of the fire was hurtfull to his eyes.

He was a tall, proper, streight, handsome, old man, of the age of seventy-one years; his habit was black cloth, a close coate lined with furre, a velvet cap on his head furred, and no hatt, a cloake, his hayre grey, his beard broade and long, his countenance sober and fixed, and his carriage grave and civill.

He spake latin, plaine and fluent, and significant; and though he could, yett would not speake *french*, saying, he knew no reason why that nation should be so much honored more then others, as to have their language used by strangers; butt he thought the *latin* more honorable, and more copious, and fitter to be used, bicause the Romans had bin masters of so great a part of the world, and yett, att present, that language was not peculiar to any people.

In



In his conferences, he would often mixe pleasant stories 1653.  
 with his serious discourfes, and took delight in recounting  
 former passages of his life, and actions of his king, and Jan. 9.  
 would be very large excusing his senilis garrulitas, as he  
 termed it, the talkativeness of old age: butt there was great  
 pleasure to heare his discourfes, and much wifdome and  
 knowledge to be gathered from them.

After complements passed, the chancellor fell into dis-  
 course of the affayres of England, and the grounds of our  
 troubles, and seemed much pleased with the information  
 therin given him by Whitelocke, and spake himselfe very  
 knowingly of those matters. He recited att large the send-  
 ing of his eldest son ambaffador to our late king, and how  
 he was used, wherein he seemed to retaine some regret; and  
 he spake of the negotiations of Sir Thomas Rowe, and of  
 Sir Henry Vane, in Germany, with all the passages therof;  
 and observed, that, when the swedish forces lay still, then  
 our late king would putt them on; butt when they had  
 successe, he would then withdraw his assistance.

He mentioned the parvus Archipræful, and Weston  
 Thesaurarius, and others, to have bin of the spanish  
 faction, and went further, even to an indeavour to intro-  
 duce popery; butt Whitelocke said, that generally the  
 good people of England did beare a great affection both to  
 the affayres and person of king Gustavus.

They had full discourse about their buisnes, the present  
 treaty: Whitelocke said to him;

*Wh.* My lord, I come to offer that which I apprehend  
 will be for the honor and advantage of both nations; and I  
 desire a dispatch as soon as conveniently may be, having  
 many



1653. many affayres in England to attend, by reason of my  
 charge there, and having left a great family in my own  
 Jan. 9. countrey.

*Ch.* The common-wealth of England hath testified a very great respect to the queen, my mistress, and to the nation of Sweden, in sending your excellence ambassador hither. The queen hath told me, that she never received more contentment in conversing with any ambassador then with you; and, for my part, I have a perticular affection to your person, which I shall be ready to manifest: and for the buisnes, I doe not doubt butt it will receive such a good issue, as shall be to the satisfaction of England, and of their ambassador. It is a matter of very great moment; and as you in England have considered of it beforehand, so it is necessary to be considered by us heer, and there shall be no unnecessary delay in it.

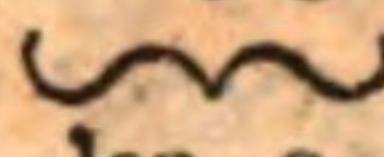
*Wh.* I am happy in the queen's goodnes, and the respects of your excellence to a stranger: I hope there will be no need of much time for this buisnes, bicause many of the things, offered by me, are the same which were mentioned by the queen's publique ministers in England.

*Ch.* Many of those things are new, and of great consequence; and as you have had your instructions from your superiors, so I must have my instructions from the queen, my mistress; and there shall no long time passe, before the buisnes be brought to some ripeness.

*Wh.* Therin your excellence will doe me a great favour. I have heard that the queen intends to goe a journey shortly.

*Ch.*



*Ch.* It is so reported, butt uncertaine; and, in case she 1653.  
doe goe, yett the buisnes will be left in the hands of some   
of her servants, who will proceed in it without delay, Jan. 9.  
though her majesty be absent.

*Wh.* Your favour to me in my dispatch will be acknowledged by your servant; and no person knowes better how to doe it then your excellence.

*Ch.* I have bin conversant in buisnes in my time, butt for many years I was under a clowde, and in some displeasure; wheruppon I thought fitt to retire myselfe to a private life in the countrey, where, after all my troubles and toying in the world, I did find more contentment, then ever I mett with in all my publique employments.

*Wh.* How could you frame yourselfe to such a solitary way of retirement, who had before spent all your dayes in the midst of a thronge of publique and great affayres? and, being old and unfitt for study, how could you passe your time in that privacy?

*Ch.* I had bin so much wearyed out in publique and great actions, that this retirement and quiet proved the greater contentment to me. Buisnes was a burden, and much company irkesome, yett I was able to spend some of my time in study; and chiefly, I may say solely, I did apply myselfe to the study of the bible, wherein is all wisdom, and the greatest delight to be found, and much more in the practice of that divine wisdom. You are a much younger man then I am, and possibly may have the like occasion of retirement as I had, butt doe not doubt of being in favour agayne; and I counsell you to make the study and practice of the word of God your chiefe contentment and delight,



1653. as it will be to every soul that savours the truths of God,  
 which doe infinitely excell all wordly things.

Jan. 9.

*Wh.* I shall remember your words, and thanke you for this good counsell of the trueth; of what you say, I have formerly had some experience, and I hope that God will improve it to me in all conditions.

Att this meeting, the chancellor inquired much of Whitelocke concerning Cromwell's age, health, children, family, temper, &c. and sayd, that Cromwell was one of the gallantest men that this age had brought forth; and the things, which he had done, argued as much courage and wisdom in him, as any actions that the world had seen for many years. In which discourse, Whitelocke did not omit to doe right to the generall, and to the parlement; and informed the chancellor fully of their courses, actions, counsells, and successes: wherin the chancellor seemed to receive much contentment, and sayd, that he had discoursed with Whitelocke in the way of a friend, and as one that desired intimacy and familiar acquaintance with him; which was most willingly accepted by Whitelocke, who indeavoured to gaine the good opinion of the chancellor, wherin God so blest him, that it proved of great advantage to his buisnes.

10. A visit was made by Whitelocke to Piementelle, who, in discourse, told him for newes, that an allyance was concluded between Holland and France, as he was certefyed.

He told Whitelocke also, that his fleet, which attended him att Gothenbergh, in their returne to England fell uppon some dutch ships and tooke them. He heard likewise, that the post this weeke had bin robbed neer to Antwerpe,



werpe, so that he doubted whither they should receive this  
 weeke's letters.

1653.

Jan. 19.

They had much generall discourse, the Spanyard being  
 excellent good company; and in the conclusion of it, for a  
 complement, Piementelle told Whitelocke, that to-morrow  
 he would come and dine with Whitelocke, and bring his  
 letters and papers along with him: for which freedome  
 and kindnes Whitelocke heartily thanked him, and pro-  
 mised he should find a friendly wellcome.

The senator Bundt, the younger, gave Whitelocke a  
 visite, and discoursed much of England.

Piementelle came with much kindnes and freedome, and  
 dined with Whitelocke, who carested him the best he could;  
 and he seemed well pleased with his intertainement. After  
 dinner they discoursed much of Spayne, France, Holland,  
 and of England, and Whitelocke's negotiation: Piemen-  
 telle told Whitelocke, that the last night, the queen saying,  
 she had a desire to speake with Whitelocke, Piementelle  
 offered to deliver her message to Whitelocke, which he now  
 did; that her majesty desired to speake with him about  
 three a'clock this afternoon.

11.

Accordingly Whitelocke went to court, and was, with-  
 out delay, admitted to the queen's presence, who told him,  
 that she had a short journey to goe into the countrey, and  
 that she desired to speake with him before her going, that  
 he might not thinke she had any intention of delaying his  
 buisnes; that she would returne to Upsale within eight  
 days, and, in the time of her absence, she had appointed the  
 chancellor to conferre with Whitelocke about the propo-  
 salls he had given in to her: and she said, that, bicause



1653. Whitelocke was a stranger to her chancellor, she herself  
 Jan. 11. would tell him the chancellor's condition, and how he  
 should treat with him.

She then told Whitelocke, that her chancellor was an old man of great experience in buisnes, and perhaps, in conference with him, might propound or insist upon some things, which Whitelocke would not have expected, and that this might be with some earnestnes; that yett Whitelocke should doe well to debate freely and courteously with him; and if theruppon the chancellor would be satisfyed, all would be well: butt in case he could not satisfy the chancellor, that then it must come to the queen, and that she would strike the stroake between them in any difference of opinion.

Whitelocke received this intimation with much thankfullnes, and looked upon the kindness and freedome of it from her majesty, as a very great testimony of her respect to the common-wealth of England and to their servant, and no smalle argument of her good inclinations to the buisnes propounded; which he indeavoured to improve to the best advantage therof.

He told the queen, that his buisnes was with her, and she only was to be the judge in all matters which he had propounded, or should propound; that he found her sufficiently capable to give her own resolutions upon the most difficult points; that she having bin pleased, as was necessary for her own ease, to referre the debate of these points to her chancellor, that he would attend, and indeavour to give him satisfaction, if reason and interest would doe it (as he hoped they would); if not, he was sure they would prevayle with her majesty, by whom he was glad he should receive



receive the determination of his buisnes, to whom only it <sup>1653.</sup>  
appertained, and whom he rather should waite uppon in <sup>Jan. 11.</sup>  
this, or any other buisnes, then any person alive.

Then the queen fell into discourse concerning the opinions of religion in England; then touching consubstantiation, the power of God, the immortality of the soul, and the like; wherein she argued with much witt and knowledge, having had discourse uppon the same matters with those learned men about her, whom she had gotten from all parts.

She was pleased to tell Whitelocke, that she received much satisfaction from him; she called for stooles, and sate herselfe, and caused Whitelocke to sitt downe; which favour she doth not afforde to other ambassadors; butt told Whitelocke, she heard that he was lame, and therefore she would sitt herselfe, that so he might sitt likewise, and not be putt to the pennance of standing so long time together as their discourse lasted: she desired Whitelocke not to acquaint any person whatsoever with some of the passages between them, which Whitelocke promised, and observed.

He then told her majesty, he was fearfull, lest, by his long stay (having bin above two howers with her), he might hinder her greater affayres, or be tedious; and he desired not to give her majesty offence, either in going or in staying: butt he heard that the danish ambassador was without, attending to speake with her majesty, to which she answered to Whitelocke, that his company was very pleasing to her, and that he need not to goe away because of the danish ambassador, who, she sayd, might waite still. In all the time of her discourse with Whitelocke, she used much freenes, and great respect to him; and, what he informed



1653. formed her touching the affayres of England, she tooke for  
 Jan. 11. graunted.

12. This morning Lagerfeldt visited Whitelocke, with whom he discoursed touching his negotiation, and of the chancellor's sense of it, which, Lagerfeldt said, was very well, and he doubted not butt there would be a good issue of it. By conference with this gentleman, Whitelocke indeavoured to gett from him what he could of the chancellor's opinion, and discourse about it, Lagerfeldt being an intimate servant to the chancellor, altogither conversant with him; and Whitelocke so wrought the matter, that he gained much from him, especially after a kind and free intertainment, which Whitelocke often bestowed on him.

Grave Erick Oxenstierne visited Whitelocke. He is second son to the chancellor, a gentleman of excellent parts and personage, a senator, and in good repute with the nation, and favour with the queen. He had in possession (as was reported) for his own maintenance 10,000 l. sterling, for his yearly revenue, which was fayre for a younger brother in his father's life-time.

He first spake to Whitelocke in latin, and afterwards continued his discourse in french.

He gave a good description of the posts belonging to Sweden on the Baltick sea, perticularly of Stetin, Reuell, and Narva: Reuell he held to be the best port, butt Narva the nearest for the trade of Russia, and most convenient by the rivers for transportation of commodities, butt the entrance into the harbour is somewhat difficulte; that Riga also is of great advantage for the trade of hempe and flaxe.

When



When the son was gone, Whitelocke visited the father, 1653.  
the chancellor, and had this discourse with him.

Jan. 12.

*Wh.* Yesterday I was with the queen, who told me, that she was going out of town, butt that she had referred the propofalls, which I tendered to her, to be conferred uppon by yourselfe and me; and whensoever your excellence will agree uppon a time for our meeting, I shall be ready on my part.

*Ch.* The queen hath given me direction in that buisnes; butt I cannot thinke of a time of meeting about it before her going away, bicause to-morrow I am to waite uppon her, and on Satturday she intends to take her journey; after which, a time may be appointed to conferre about your buisnes.

*Wh.* Your own time shall suite with my occasions.

*Ch.* In the meane while, I shall make some generall questions to you for my own satisfaction, which I hope you will not take amisse, nor esteem it a needles curiosity in me, or a blaming of your proceedings.

*Wh.* I shall indeavour your satisfaction, and with equall freedome of discourse.

*Ch.* I desire to know what stability and settlement there is in your common-wealth and governement, and how it came to passe, that the late parlement, which they called by the late king's authority, was dissolved, and another constituted, which, some report, may probably be as soon dissolved as the other was; and then how shall our treaty have a good and fixt foundation?

*Wh.*



1653. *Wh.* It is very necessary, that, in the first place, you  
 Jan. 12. should have satisfaction in these points, without which, any  
 conferences on particulars will be useless. We hold the  
 government of England, as to the fundamentalls of it, to  
 be the same now, as when we had a king; the same lawes,  
 the same supream power, and the same magistrates.

Forrein negotiations, matters of peace and warre, rayfing  
 of monyes, and making of lawes, were the proper buisnes-  
 ses of parlements in the time of our kings, so admitted by  
 the best and most successfull of them; and though some of  
 them, growing in power, would incroach more then  
 others, yett all acknowledged the power of parlements in  
 those matters, and so it is still.

Antiently, by our lawes, a new parlement was to be  
 called every year, or oftener; it being the constitution of  
 the english politie, not to have the supream and legislative  
 power continue too long in the same hand: butt there was  
 a necessity, by reason of our troubles and ingagements, for  
 the long continuance of the late parlement, and an act by  
 consent of the king for it; and when after the troubles were  
 ended, by the intire conquest of the parlement over their  
 ennemies, and God had given them peace and freedome,  
 it was then thought reasonable, not only by others, butt  
 by that parlement also, to putt a period to their own sitt-  
 ing, and a new parlement to be chosen. Butt before that  
 day, the late parlement rose, and a new one was consti-  
 tuted, which is now sitting, for whose rising a day is also  
 to be prefixed, and a new one to be chosen. And in case  
 there should be a new parlement every year, or every  
 moneth, though the persons be changed, yett it is a par-  
 lement still, and the government the same by parlement;  
 which was the antient constitution of the politie of our na-  
 tion,



tion, continued to our times, wherein the king was the 1653.  
 supream officer; butt that office being taken away, and <sup>Jan. 12.</sup>  
 the nation, by the same act of parlement, resolved into a  
 common-wealth and free state, the government (as the  
 same act declares) continues still by successive parlements,  
 and I hope will continue so, without any daunger of un-  
 settledness or change.

*Ch.* Doe you hold *kingly* government to be unlawfull,  
 that you have abolished it?

*Wh.* Every government, which the people chooseth, is  
 certainly lawfull, whether kingly or other; and that to be  
 accounted best, which they, by their representatives, doe  
 make choice of, as best for them and their condition.

*Ch.* You have given me a full and satisfactory account  
 that you are a fixed common-wealth, with whom we may  
 safely treat; and I would know what you *desire* of us.

*Wh.* I desire nothing from you; I come not to you in  
 a precarious way, non ut cliens sed ut amicus: my buisnes  
 is to make you an offer of that, which is worthy accept-  
 ance by any prince in Europe, the friendship of the com-  
 mon-wealth of England, which, if you please, uppon just  
 and honorable termes to imbrace, it will be for your ad-  
 vantage as well as ours; if not, yourselves will have as  
 much prejudice as any other by the refusall.

*Ch.* You are quick uppon the apprehension of reflection  
 uppon the honor of your nation.

*Wh.* My affection and duety to my countrey will pleade  
 in my excuse.



1653.

Jan. 12.

*Ch.* I am so farre from censuring you for it, that I cannot butt commend you; and your humor gaines so much uppon me, that though you will not be a suitor to us heer, for which you have reason, yett I will be a perticular suitor to you, that our acquaintance and friendship may be intimate and familiar; the which I have not bin used to pray from publique ministers, though I have had to deale with many of them.

*Wh.* You reprove me so fatherly, and putt so great an obligation and honor uppon me, that I cannot, with sufficient gratitude, acknowledge it, or hold myselfe worthy of so much honor from you: butt since your great judgement allowes it me, I shall not question, butt indeavour a merit of it, and promise to be a most faithfull servant to so noble a friend, who takes care of a stranger att so great a distance from his friends and countrey. And though I cannot make a suit on the behalfe of my superiors to this or any other state, yett, on the behalfe of myselfe, to you I can and doe make this suit; you have many sons adopted as well as natural, and persons of great esteem, that I might be held worthy to be ranked in their number. You are the greatest and the eldest chancellor in Christendome: I have something to doe in the chancery of England; give me leave to hold it under the title of your son, and I hope I shall not defame my father.

*Ch.* You deserve much more honor then is in my power to give you; if you account this any (as his royall highnes is pleased to take it) I doe most freely adopt you one of my sons, and therin take the honor to be done to myselfe, and shall assure you, by reall demonstrations, that I will have the care and affection of a father for you, and that not only



only in your present buisnes, butt in any other wherin you may be concerned. 1653.

Jan. 12.

This discourse and complement proved to the advantage of Whitelocke and his buisnes; and, after three howers' time (which he used not to afford to other ambassadors), it concluded with discourse of the earl of Essex (wherin Whitelocke was able to informe him); and he related to Whitelocke the passages of marques Hamilton in Germany with the english army, which, through want of knowledge in the marques in military affayres, and of care to provide for them, perished.

Berkman brought to Whitelocke the great newes of the dissolving the parlement in England, and that the generall was made supream governour. 13.

Whitelocke asked him, if Lagerfeldt and the chancellor had newes of it; he sayd, they had, and that it was very certain, butt of the perticulars and manner thereof he knew nothing: the same newes was brought to Whitelocke by Mr. Butler, a scottish merchant, out of the Holland gazettes, which related all to be in confusion in England.

Many thoughts heeruppon were fluctuating in Whitelocke's mind, and pondered by him; and he being desirous to see how this newes relished att court, and what countenance the queen would have towards him uppon such a change, he sent to desire an audience; and before his messenger returned, the queen sent Grave Tott to him, to congratulate the good news from England, and the acceffe of honor to his generall.



1653. In the afternoon Whitelocke attended the queen, and  
 Jan. 13. was admitted into her bed-chamber, where she told him  
 the newes with much seeming joy, and that Bonnele, and  
 divers others, had written it from London; and asked him;

*Qu.* Have you yett received your letters of it?

*Wh.* Not yett, madame; butt have reason to believe the  
 newes, and to expect your majesty's inclinations ther-  
 uppon.

*Qu.* Par Dieu, I beare the same respect, and more to  
 your generall and to you then I did before; and I had  
 rather have to doe with one then with many.

*Wh.* I may very well believe it; and returne thanks to  
 your majesty for the continuance of your respects to Eng-  
 land, and to my generall, and to his servant: your maje-  
 sty understands he hath a new title, butt his power was not  
 meane before.

*Qu.* It was very great before, and I thinke it greater  
 now, and therefore better for England, butt subject to  
 envy; and I tell you, under secrecy, that my chancellor  
 would formerly have bin so in Sweden, when I was young,  
 butt could not attaine it: butt if he was my ennemy, yett  
 I should say, that he is a wise and a gallant man; and if  
 your generall were the greatest ennemy I have, yett I should  
 give him his due, that he is a wise and brave man, and  
 hath done the greatest things of any man alive. I much  
 desire his friendship, and am heartily glad of his present  
 condition.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* I shall not fayle to acquaint him fully with your  
majesty's great respect to him.

1653.  
Jan. 13.

This was looked upon by Whitelocke as a great confidence by the queen in him; and when, bicause he had not his letters, she agayne offred that they might be sent under her cover, and that Bonnele should take care of them, he mannerly waived it.

In the evening Whitelocke's letters were brought to him from the post, wherin Thurloe gave him a perticular account of the change in England, and the manner and all passages of it; and in his letters were new credentialls for Whitelocke to the queen, signed,

Vester bonus amicus,

OLIVARIUS P.

He had also new instruction, signed alike, to proceed in the treaty with the queen, according to his former instructions; and he had the newes of the dutch treaty, uppon this occasion a little att a stand, and the newes of France, and of forrein states relating to England.

He had also by this pacquet a cobby of the instrument of government agreed uppon, and sworne by the protector to be observed uppon this change.

He perceived that the queen and her court were very much pleased with it; many of her officers and servants expressed more then ordinary satisfaction by it. Whilest himselfe was ruminating uppon it, one of the queen's secreta-ryes, by her order, came to Whitelocke, to whom he communicated part of his newes, and told him, that he desired  
to



1653. to waite uppon the queen agayne when her leifure would  
~~~~~ permit, this evening or to-morrow.  
Jan. 13.

The secretary went presently to the castle, and returned answer to Whitelocke, that the queen desired he would come to her that night, which he did, though very late, and between them was this discourse :

Qu. Sir, you are wellcome still to me ; and, if possible, more then before the change.

Wh. Madame, it is your goodnes and favour to a gentleman, a stranger in your countrey, who truly honors your majesty ; and you are pleased to shew much respect to my generall.

Qu. Your generall is a gallant man, and you are fitt to serve any prince in Christendome.

Wh. I may without vanity thinke the better of him, and of myselfe, bicause of your majesty's judgement.

Qu. My judgement is, that your affayres in England are much amended, and better established, by this change then before.

Wh. We hope that our God will give us a settlement ; and we have found much of his favour therin already, and doubt not of the continuance therof to us.

Qu. Is your new government by a *protector* different from what it was before as to monarchy, or is the alteration in all points ?

Wh.

Wh. The government is to be the same as formerly, by 1653. successive representatives of the people in parlement; only ^{Jan. 13.} the protector is the head, or chiefe magistrate, of the common-wealth.

Qu. He is a gallant man; and I pray lett him know, that no person hath a greater esteem and respect for him then I have.

Wh. I presume then, that his letters to your majesty will not be unwellcome.

Qu. They shall be most wellcome to me.

Wh. I then present these new credentialls to your majesty from his highnes my lord protector.

Qu. What is the reason that the protector's name is putt first in the letters?

Wh. The protector's name, signed by himselfe, is att the bottome of the letter; and the naming of him first is because he writes to your majesty, and is the constant forme in England used to all other princes and states.

Qu. If it be used to other princes I am satisfied, and expect no other. What is the substance of your new government?

Wh. I shall shew your majesty the instrument of our new government, wherof a cobby is sent me; and I shall reade such parts of it to your majesty in french, as may satisfy you.

Then

1653. Then Whitelocke read unto the queen some parts of the
 Jan. 13. instrument of government; and, when he came to the title,
 she sayd,

Qu. Why is the title, Protector, when the power is kingly?

Wh. I cannot satisfy your majesty of the reasons of this title, being att so great a distance from the inventors of it.

Qu. New titles, with soveraign power, proved prejudiciall to the state of Rome.

Wh. One of your majesty's auncestors was not permitted to keep the title of Marshall of Sweden.

Qu. He was afterwards king; and that will be next for your protector.

Wh. That will not be so consonant to our commonwealth as it was to your crown.

Qu. It is an honor to our nation, that you have looked into the story of it.

Wh. It is the duty of an ambassador to study the history of that crown to which he is imployed.

Qu. It becomes you well; butt why is your new government so severe against the roman catholiques?

Wh. It is not more severe against them then it was formerly, and in some things lesse.

Qu.

Qu. Methinkes that you, who stand so much for liberty, 1653.
should allow it to them, as well as to others, in a tolleration Jan. 13.
of them.

Wh. Their principles are held contrary to the peace of the nation, and therefore they are not tollerated the publique exercise of those principles: they hold your majesty's profession and ours to be hereticall, and a forreign power to be above you, and above our common-wealth.

Qu. Those among them, who understand themselves, are of another opinion; and it is pittie they should be persecuted for their conscience sake.

Wh. We are not for persecution in any point of conscience; butt we expect a submission to the civill magistrate, and nothing to be done to the disturbance of our peace.

Qu. That is fitt to be preserved with all care. Is your protector sacred as other kings are?

Wh. He is not anointed and crowned; those ceremonies were not used to him.

Qu. His power is the same with that of king, and why should not his title have bin the same?

Wh. It is the power which makes the title, and not the title the power; our protector thinkes he hath enough of both.

Qu. He is hardly a mortall man then; butt he hath brought his buisness notably to passe, and hath done great things,
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1653. things : I give you my hand for it, that I have a great value
 of him.
 Jan. 13.

Wh. Madame, I kisse your hand with all gratitude for your favours, and do assure your majesty, that the protector hath a high honor for your majesty, and shall not want information of your very great respects to him.

14. Uppon the receipt of his new credentialls, Whitelocke held it requisite to give in a paper to the queen, to acquaint her of his being impowred to proceed in the treaty with her majesty; the english paper he signed, butt not the latin copy; both heer followe.

“ Madame,

“ I have received commaunds from his highnes my ho-
 “ nored lord, the lord protector of the common-wealth of
 “ England, Scotland, and Ireland, and dominions therto
 “ belonging, to lett your majesty know, and I do accord-
 “ ingly heerby acquaint your majesty, that the late altera-
 “ tion of the governement in England hath made no change
 “ in the good intentions on that side towards your majesty
 “ and your dominions; butt that your majesty shall find the
 “ same readines in his highnes, the lord protector, to main-
 “ taine and increafe all good intelligence and correspon-
 “ dence with your majesty and your crown, as in any the
 “ former governors of those nations; and to that end his
 “ highnes hath authorized me to proceed in my present ne-
 “ gotiation.

Ubsale, Jan. 14.

1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The

The latin copy of the paper was thus :

1653.

Jan. 14.

“ Serenissima ac potentissima regina,

“ In mandatis habeo à celsitudine sua domino meo colen-
 “ diffimo, domino protectore reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hi-
 “ berniæ, et dominorum illis appertinentium, ut certio-
 “ facerem majestatem vestram, quod et juxta mandata jam
 “ facio, commutatam politiam Angliæ nullam fecisse mu-
 “ tationem benevolorum animorum, ex ea parte, erga ma-
 “ jestatem vestram, experturam eandem promptitudinem in
 “ celsitudine sua, domino protectore, ad conservandam et
 “ augendam bonam omnem intelligentiam ac correspon-
 “ dentiam cum majestate vestra ac regno vestro, quæ in
 “ quovis antecedentium gubernatorum prædictarum nati-
 “ onum unquam fuisset ; et propterea celsitudo sua mihi
 “ potestatem dedit, ut procederem in hac præsentī mea ne-
 “ gotiatione.”

This was according to Whitelocke's new instructions ; and her majesty desiring from Whitelocke a french copy for herselfe of the articles of treaty which he had delivered in to her formerly, both of english and latin (the latin copy wherof she had given to the chancellor), Whitelocke now sent her the french translate of the articles, with this letter.

A sa tres excellente Majesté madame la Reyne de Suede.

“ Madame,

“ J'ai dilligement reveu tous mes papiers pour pouvoir
 “ trouver la traduction françoise des articles que je presentai
 “ a votremajesté, et n'ai peu trouver que la premiere copie,
 “ qui n'est pas propre à estre présenté à votre majesté ; mais
 “ plus tost que de me rendre desobeissant à vos commande-

T t 2

“ ments,

1653. " ments, j'ai mesmes envoy  ceste incluse, ensemble ma
 Jan. 14. " tres humble requeste, qu'il pla se   votre majest  me par-
 " donner ceste ci, et toutes les autres faultes, du

" tres humble serviteur

Le 14. de Janviere,

" de votre majest ,

1653.

" BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE."

To her most excellent Majesty the Queen of Sweden.

" Madame,

" I have diligently perused all my papers to have found
 " the french translation of the articles which I presented to
 " your majesty, butt I could only find the first copy, which
 " is not fitt to be presented to your majesty ; butt, rather
 " than be disobedient to your commaunds, I have sent it
 " heer inclosed, together with my most humble suit, that
 " your majesty would be pleased to pardon this and all other
 " the faults of

" the most humble servant

" of your majesty,

January 14. 1653.

" BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE."

This letter, and the papers, he sent to the queen, that
 she might have them before she went her journey.

15. This *Lord's day*, early in the morning, the queen tooke
 her journey to see her mother ; and it is the usuall time of
 travayle in this countrey : her conveyance was by sleddes,
 the easiest and most speedy way for a journey in the winter
 time. They wrap themselves warme with furies, and the
 snow

fnow is so hard frozen over as ice, that it beares the horse 1653.
and fledde ; and they passe over rivers, lakes, and armes of 
the sea, the nearest way to their journey's end. Jan. 15.

Some of Whitelocke's family, and others that came to him, hinted divers objections as to Whitelocke's proceeding in this treaty uppon the change of government; which objections, and their answers, are heer collected and summed up together.

1. Obj. That Cromwell, who had his commission from the parlement, who were his masters, had by force turned them out of their authority, and now by this change had invested himselfe in the supream administration of affayres; and, by acting under his authority, thus unduely and unworthily gayned, were to countenance such actions, and therby to pertake of the crimes themselves.

Anf. If Whitelocke had bin party to Cromwell's violent and unjust actions, the crimes had bin his likewise; butt Whitelocke being a stranger to them, and patient under them, and att a great distance from Cromwell when he thus invested himselfe with regall authority; and being att that time in the midst of a negotiation, the effecting wherof was of great concernment to the honor and safety of his native countrey, and of the good people there, which might be in much hazard in case Whitelocke did not proceed in his buisnes, that it would be excusable with all good men if he continued to act therin, though not for the authorities sake, yett for the buisnes and for his countryes sake.

2. Obj. That there was no lawfull power from whence Cromwell's power was derived, and therefore to act under him was unlawfull.

1653. ^{Jan. 15.} Ans. The former answear serves in part to this objection ; and bicause Cromwell did unlawfully assume a power to himselfe, it follows not, that therfore a just and lawfull buisnes ought to be neglected and lost, rather then for a messenger or publique minister to proceed to act under an usurped authority, butt not by the means of that minister. To act unlawfull things under a lawfull power, is lesse to be justified, then to continue to act honest and lawfull things tending to publique good, though under an unlawfull power, when they cannot be done otherwise ; and if they be neglected, daunger will infue to his countrey.

3. Obj. That, since the accession of power to Cromwell, he had neglected Whitelocke, having omitted him out of his counsell, though in this present imployment : and what incouragement or gratitude could be expected from him, who, in the beginning of the change, had putt such a discountenance uppon an ambassador then in actuall service.

Ans. It seemed some answear, that Cromwell had not fitted up the number of his councell, and possibly he might reserve a place for Whitelocke ; if not, his neglect to Whitelocke ought not to cause Whitelocke to neglect his countreyes good : and for reward or gratitude, he was to expect little from Cromwell's hand, who used to forget the instruments as soon as the worke was done ; butt his reward was to be expected from a higher protector ; and his inward satisfaction, that heerin he should serve God and good men, would be a recompence of all his paynes and hazards.

4. Obj. That there was an act of parlement in force, that to promote any single person to be chiefe magistrate in England was high treason ; and to act under Cromwell's authority, who had made himselfe chiefe magistrate, might, uppon

upon another change, be interpreted high treason within 1653.
that act.

Jan. 15.

Anf. Whitelocke being no party to the setting up of this single person, nor that could possibly hinder or oppose it; his acting under this authority as a publique minister, ingaged before in the same buisnes, might be interpreted the promoting of the treaty, and of his countryes good, butt not of a single person to be chiefe magistrate, and so consequently not to be within that act of high treason.

5. Obj. That Whitelocke having taken the ingagement to be true and faithfull to the common-wealth of England, as the same is now established without a king or house of lords; if he should now act under this single person, invested with regall authority, to the dissolving of that common-wealth, this would be taken as a breach of that ingagement, and of being unfaithfull to that common-wealth.

Anf. The ingagement was a solemn thing; and how is it to be faithfull to that common-wealth, when one acts under a single person that destroys it? if the common-wealth be destroyed, and there be no such thing in being, how can one be faithfull to that which is not? All casuists agree, that, if a government be altered and another power in possession of it, all private men are bound to submit to the present powers, because they are ordained of God; and a former government, the object of obedience, ceasing, the obligation to that obedience also ceaseth, where the protection ceaseth: the obedience is not required, butt where the protection is given. That if Whitelocke had bin party to, or acting in the destroying of the common-wealth, the sin had lyen att his doore,

1653. doore, and he had bin untrue and unfaithfull; butt he being a meer stranger to that act, and to the usurpation by the single person, and att this great distance, finding that single person by other's acts invested with his great power, it is no unfaithfulness in him, under this new authority, to proceed to doe service for the same nation, from whom, and for whose good, he was imployed hither; especially when, if he should desist from his negotiation, that nation and common-wealth would receive great prejudice thereby, particularly in the continuance of a warre upon them: and he might be accounted neither true nor faithfull to the interest of his countrey, whom he now serves, by bringing mischief on them through his neglect.

Most of the sober people with him were of this judgement for his proceeding; and they urged to him his own and all their condition, who were with him in a strange countrey, so farre from home, where none of them could have any credit to take up money or supply their necessities, butt as they were enabled by the present power in England, nor meanes for their transportation home; butt should be left heer in a condition so void of help and necessary subsistence, as would bring them all to a very sad and miserable posture, which they hoped that he, who was their ruler, would not bring himselfe or them unto.

16. A visit was given by Whitelocke to the french resident, with whom he had much discourse concerning the king his master, and of the late hostile passages between some of his subjects and the english, which the resident applied only to particular persons, and affirmed, that his master had thoughts of friendship towards this common-wealth, and that the kindness, which he showed to the king of Scots, was occasioned by the relation of blood between them.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke was willing to improve this friendlyness between them, and all good understanding between the two nations. 1653.
Jan. 16.

They had further discourse about the countrey of Sweden, which the resident much discommended, and the want of accomodations in their common innes, butt much extolling the convenience of them in his countrey roades, wherein Whitelocke could joyne with him by experience, and did not forget the convenience for travaylers in England: other of their discourses are not necessary for a repetition.

Whitelocke received a visit from the spanish resident, who discoursed much of the queen, and of her power and interest in the kingdome, and the great officers therof, and particularly of the chancellor and other ministers.

Piementelle affirmed, that the queen had as great a power over all her ministers, and as great an interest in the affections of the people, and as full an obedience from them, and from all sorts of officers, both civill and military, great and inferior ones, as any prince in Europe had; and that he found it so by his long observation of passages in this countrey: and though Whitelocke was not clear in that point all this time, yett afterwards he was fully convinced by experience of the trueth of this observation.

The chancellor having sent before, according to custome, he came to Whitelocke's house; and between them was this discourse. 17.

Wh. I had thoughts to have waited on your excellence this day, to have putt you in mind of my buisnes, and to desire that a progresse might be made therein: my occasions in

1653. England, in respect of my charge there and of my private family, requiring my returne with all convenient speed.
 Jan. 17.

Chan. I doubt not butt that your employments in England are very considerable, and that you may justly desire a speedy returne to them and to your family; and to further that I have desired this conference with you.

Wh. You will pardon my earnest desire of returning home, especially uppon the great alteration which hath happened since my being abroad.

Chan. Indeed there hath bin a great alteration among you, pulling down one and setting up another, abolishing kingship (as you terme it) and resolving yourselves into a republique, and now againe setting up another monarchy; which incertainty in your government may occasion some doubt how the treatyes, made with you, may be observed.

Wh. Government is not changed, though a new head be made; the body of the lawes and magistracy remaine the same they were before; and certainly the nation and people of England, on whose behalfe treatyes are made, do remaine the same still, and will give due observance to forein treatyes, whosoever is the chiefe governor, or in whose name soever they are made: and the same objection lyes uppon the death of every prince, as uppon the late alteration in England.

Chan. How could your parlement justify the deposing of your king, nay, the putting of him to death, and that by a publique tryall, he being a king, what faults soever you could charge him with: other nations have sometimes caused their kings to be made away secretly, or have expelled them; butt

butt you, in the face of all princes and of the whole world, 1653.
 proceeded agaynst him as a common criminory person, as a ^{Jan. 17.}
 subject rather then as a king, and tooke away his life in
 this manner, unwarrantable by any law divine or humane.

Wh. I suppose you doe not expect from me heer, where I
 am under the protection of a soveraigne queen, or else where,
 a justification of that proceeding; I had no hand in it, and
 those who had, by authority of the parlement, I believe
 held it more justifiable to proceed in an open tryall, than by
 secret means to take his life away: their reasons and grounds
 for the action concerneth themselves, and is not my present
 buisnes; nor is the lawe the same in all countryes in cases
 of the like nature and example.

Chan. It was exemplary with a wittnes, or rather minatory
 to all princes of the world; yett I must confesse, it was more
 honorable to proceed in an open avowed way then by un-
 derhand dealing to have cutt him of: and for the laws of
 every countrey we must leave them to what is theirs, and
 their actions are to answear to their own laws.

Wh. If you are not so satisfyed with our governement, that
 it is such as you may safely proceed in the treaty with me,
 my stay heer is to smalle purpose.

Chan. Truely I am satisfyed that we may safely proceed in
 the treaty with you, it being a nationall buisnes, and not
 personall; and therefore shall not doubt of the due observance
 of what shall be agreed between the two nations.

Wh. I am glad you are so cleerly satisfyed, and could not
 butt assure myselfe, that a person of your wisdom
 U u 2 and

1653. and judgement could not be otherwise, uppon your due
 Jan. 17. consideration of our affayres.

Chan. It is your reason and full information of me, whereby I have this satisfaction more then my own judgement; and I doe like your settlement the better, bicause the power of the protector is limited by your lawe: there remains nothing for him now to do butt to gett him a back and breast of Steele.

Wh. Without limitation in the power of a chiefe magistrate, it will be hard to distinguish him from a tyrant: butt what meaneth my father by a back and breast of Steele?

Chan. I meane the confirmation of his being protector to be made by your parlement, which will be his best and greatest strength.

Wh. For your further satisfaction of the settlednes of government, I have caused the writing or instrument, agreed uppon in our last change, to be translated into latin, that you may peruse it.

Chan. Is the protector and the people bound to an observation of this instrument?

Wh. This is agreed uppon, as to the rule of government, to oblige both the people to obey it, and the protector to governe according to it.

Chan. From whom is this power derived, and given to the protector? and who had power to ordaine it to be binding to the people?

Wh.

Wh. The parlement, then fitting, found the peace of the 1653. common-wealth in daunger to be againe disturbed, and the many divisions in the nation hardly to be cured; they ther-^{Jan. 17.} upon judged it the best and most expedient way, to prevent the mischiefs threatened, to make choice of a head of the common-wealth, and the generall to be the fittest and worthiest person for that office and trust; and therefore they, by a solemne writing, did resigne their power and authority into the hands of the generall, and desired him to accept of the government as chiefe magistrate, under the title of protector: and to this, the officers and soldiers of the armies and navies, the magistrates of London, the principall judges of England, and divers noblemen, gentlemen, and persons of quality and faithfullness to the common interest and peace of the nation, did assent, and were present in a solemne meeting, where he was sworne to observe this instrument; and the people generally, by their acclamations, testified their agreement therunto.

Chan. This seems to be an election by the sword, and pre-
vayling party of the nation; and such precedents in other
countrys have proved dangerous and not durable.

Wh. God hath thus ordered it; and I heare there is a ge-
nerall acquiescence and submission to it, and the supreame
law of *salus populi* seemed to require this change: and
though he were the generall that is chosen to be the head,
yett the soldiers were not sole but joint actors in this de-
signation.

Chan. Such military elections of the Roman emperors, and
in other nations, proved fatall to the publique peace and
liberty.

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* I hope this may prove a means for the conservation
 of our peace and freedome.
 Jan. 17.

Chan. Doe you hold this to be an election, or rather a military, imposition of your chiefe governor?

Wh. It is certainly a very generall agreement of persons in power and authority, and of principall interest in the nation, to sett up this government, and therefore may be hoped to continue as firme as those elections of kings by a few great men only, and was used in yours and the neighbour countryes by the senators.

Chan. Those elections by the senators, formerly made, trayed great factions, and occasioned much civill war and misery; therefore our Ricksdagh judged it necessary to alter that course of elections of our kings, and to settle the crown in an hæreditary succession, which proves more peacefull and prosperous then those elections.

Wh. This was a great change, yett forein treatyes were still kept with you: I was borne under hereditary kings, and doe not disprove of that government; yett I hope our common-wealth, as now constituted, will also flourish and afford liberty and advantage to the people under it, and be as fixed as any other; and if you (my noble father) have as good an opinion therof as I have, our treaty will have the better issue.

Chan. The great doubt will be of the permanency therof, you being so much subject to changes; and then how will our treatyes be observed?

Wh.

Wh. I suppose that the treaty^{es}, which you made with 1653. other states in the names of your elective kings, doe yett re-
maine good, and are observed in the time of your hæreditary ^{Jan. 17.} queen: I come not to treat^e with you concerning the interest of my generall, now protector, butt concerning the interest of England, and on the behalfe of the common-wealth and people of England to treat^e with the crown of Sweden, and on the behalfe of the people of Sweden; and whither the head of either people be called king or queen, or protector, and the nation be called a common-wealth or a kingdome, yett the people's interest is the same, and of equall force att one time or another.

Chan. Son, I am satisfi^yed with your reasons, and convinced that we may safely proceed in a treaty with you.

Wh. I durst not offer any thing to your great judgement, butt what I apprehended to carry reason with it, and know to be trueth.

Chan. I have had the honor to treat^e with very many publique ministers, butt never received more reason, satisf^yaction, and contentment from any then from yourselfe; and that you may perceiv^e me to have the affection of a father towards you, I shall not only by my words, butt by my actions, indeavour to testify the same. I have heard of your honorable charge att home, and of your numerous family, and know what it is to be att such distance as you are from them; and therefore hold it the more generous and just to indeavour your speedy dispatch to them, and that with satisf^yaction to you.

Wh. You will heerin doe an act of much respect to my superiors, and favour to your son, whom you cannot more oblige.

1653. oblige then by such a satisfactory conclusion of the buisnes
 which I heer attend.

Jan. 17.

Chan. There is yett another objection uppon your new
 credentialls, wherein is omitted the usuall clause to assure a
 confirmation by your superiors of what you shall agree.

Wh. This clause of confirmation is in my commission un-
 der the great seal of England, by which authority I am in-
 abled to act still in this treaty, and to which my new in-
 structions doe referre ; and therfore was not thought neces-
 sary to be repeated in my new credentialls.

Chan. That answears my objection : I shall send to you
 for another meeting, when we will proceed uppon your
 articles.

Wh. I shall willingly attend you.

18. By agreement, Whitelocke went to the chancellor's house,
 and brought with him his articles, which the chancellor and
 he read all over together, and afterwards read them againe
 by parts.

To the first article the chancellor made no objection, butt
 seemed to agree to it ; to the second article the chancellor,
 with a long harangue, spake to this effect.

“ *Chan.* In these proposalls (as it seems to me) two things
 “ are contained ; first, that which belongs to mutuall friend-
 “ ship, correspondence, and commerce between the two
 “ nations, and is of the lesse difficulty ; the second relates
 “ to the league offensive and defensive, and of the conserv-
 “ ing

“ ing of the interest of both nations, wherein is more dif- 1653.
 “ ficulty; and the state of either nation is to be considered. Jan. 18.

“ As to what concerns the common-wealth of England,
 “ it is not to be doubted butt that, att present, it is involved
 “ in warres, wherein the Swedes must necessarily involve
 “ themselves also, if they agree unto your second article.

“ As to what concerns the kingdome of Sweden, they
 “ enjoy peace with all, and are not troubled with any warre;
 “ and although, in former times, they have waged war with
 “ their neighbours, to wit, the Danes, Polles, and Musco-
 “ vites, and in Germany, yett now all matters are tranf-
 “ acted by them in peace and friendlynefs.

“ In Germany, generall Levan and generall Ruthen,
 “ two of your countrymen, did gallant fervice to the
 “ crown of Sweden, and received rewards anfwearable to
 “ their merit, when they departed for Scotland, about the
 “ beginning of your British tumults: I foretold to them
 “ what they afterwards found came to paffe.

“ The ground of the war between my king and Poland
 “ was most juft, and provoked by them, wherein he had
 “ fucceffe; and likewise againft the Muscovite, who dealt
 “ unjuftly with us, and both came to a happy iffue and
 “ good peace on the part of Sweden.

“ The Dane committed fo many injurious acts againft
 “ Sweden, contrary to their former leagues with us, that
 “ Sweden was neceffitated, for the confervation of their
 “ state and interest, to trye it out by force and war with
 “ Denmarke.

1653.

Jan. 18.

“ In the prosecution of which affayres, no prince or
 “ common-wealth gave any assistance, either in action or in
 “ counsell, unto Sweden.

“ And although it was propounded to the ambassador of
 “ France, then negotiating in Sweden, that he would ap-
 “ pear either in assistance or counsell, he gave this answear,
 “ that he had nothing in commaund from his king about
 “ this matter.

“ And when likewise it was represented to the dutch am-
 “ bassador, then also residing in this court, and their interest
 “ as to trade and traffique by the Sundt, they gave the same
 “ answear as the french ambassador had done before.

“ Att the same time the queen of Sweden sent letters to
 “ the parlement of England, wherby she desired the ad-
 “ vice of the parlement, and offered that they should be in-
 “ cluded in the treaty of peace with the Dane, as to what
 “ concerned the trade of England att the Sundt ; butt it
 “ pleased not the parlement of England to give any answear
 “ uppon that affayre, before the peace was concluded be-
 “ tween the Swedes and Danes.

“ During all the time that I had the care and management
 “ of the swedish affayres, and after the queen tooke uppon
 “ her the gouvernement, nothing was done to the prejudice
 “ of the parlement of England, butt their party ever was
 “ and still is favoured by us : and since the late gouvernement
 “ and your protector constituted, I have better hopes of the
 “ establishment and prosperity of your common-wealth then
 “ I had before.

“ Yett

“ Yett as a counfellow of the kingdome of Sweden, and 1653.
 “ as a delegate appointed by the queen in this matter, it be-
 “ comes me to forefee, that the kingdome of Sweden, now Jan. 18.
 “ in quiet, be not ingaged in forein warres, the which will
 “ necessarily come to passe, if your second article be agreed
 “ unto; and therefore it deserves the greater consideration.

“ I desire you to excuse my length of speaking: my king
 “ would always afford me the liberty of speaking att large
 “ to him; and if any fault might be imputed to that king,
 “ it was this, that sometimes he would be very chollerick;
 “ it was his temper, and he was wont to say to me, thou
 “ art too phlegmatick, and if somwhat of my heate were
 “ not mingled with thy phlegme, my affayres would not
 “ come to so good effect as they doe; to whom, with his
 “ leave, I would answear and say to him:

“ Sir, If my phlegmatick temper did not mingle some
 “ coolenes with your heate, your affayres would not be so
 “ prosperous as they are: att which answear the king would
 “ laugh heartily, and give me my freedome of speaking
 “ fully to him; and I aske your leave, in the tranfacting of
 “ our affayres, that I may speake freely and fully to you
 “ uppon all occasions.”

“ *Wh.* Father, you have it in your own power to afford
 “ yourselfe as much of your time as you thinke fitt for the
 “ consideration of these propofalls; and the more of your
 “ time you allow for your discourse with me, the more is
 “ my happinefs and great contentment.

“ As to this negotiation, my earnest desire is, that it may
 “ be brought to a conclusion as soon as may be, it being
 “ uncertain how soon I may be recalled by my lord protector.

1653.

Jan. 18.

“ That, which you have materially urged, relates to other
“ countryes, and not to England.

“ Touching your interest with other countryes, you will
“ expect little to be answered by me, a stranger to it; only
“ I may observe, that neither the Muscovites, Polles, Germans,
“ or your nearest neighbours the Danes, are apprehended to
“ be so firme friends unto you, that they will neglect any
“ opportunity or advantage to breake with you, and to do
“ you prejudice and themselves a benefit: and although
“ (blessed be God) you have peace with all att present, yett
“ how soon you may have warres you know not, against
“ which it is good to provide before-hand; and my se-
“ cond article will be a good preventive therof and sup-
“ port, if such a war shall breake out against you, which
“ you may foresee not to be unlikely in a short time.

“ As to that, which you last mentioned, touching the letters
“ sent to our parlement, and no timely answer of them;
“ I remember those letters came anno 1643, when our
“ affayres were in the greatest distraction; yett, upon the
“ first opportunity, answer was returned by colonel Potley
“ from the parlement to her majesty, and to my knowledge
“ our parlement have ever expressed to the queen and to
“ her chancellor all friendship and affection.

“ Concerning the war between us and Holland, it was in-
“ juriously brought upon us, without any wrong or provo-
“ cation on our part, and so it hath bin approved in the de-
“ fence and conquests which God pleased to bestow on us;
“ therefore my coming hither is not to implore a charitable
“ assistance to a common-wealth reduced unto straits (as
“ our queen Elizabeth afforded to these Hollanders), butt I
“ come to offer to the queen and kingdome of Sweden the
“ alliance

“ alliance of a common-wealth, by the blessing of God, filled 1653.
 “ with victorious successes against all her enemies, and her
 “ affairs in a settled and good condition; and doe pro- Jan. 18.
 “ pound, by my second article, equall (if not more) advan-
 “ tage and honor to the Swedish nation, then what England
 “ may expect to herselfe thereby.

“ By what is proposed in that article against all those who
 “ shall endeavor to hinder the free commerce of either na-
 “ tion in the Sundt, if, by a conjunction with England, the
 “ navigation and commerce in the Sundt and Baltick sea
 “ be preserved free, it will be much more benefit to the
 “ crown of Sweden then to the common-wealth of England;
 “ and the same is not yett free for us or you, therefore my
 “ second article seems not unequall. And for that which
 “ concerns mutuall assistance, it is left to subsequent con-
 “ sideration, and to such agreements as heerafter shall be
 “ particularly made thereupon.

“ It is also observable, that it is not so much advantage
 “ to England, as it may be to other countries, to have a
 “ war; and Sweden is not without ill-willers, and by this
 “ second article is to have mutuall assistance from us.”

Chan. “ It is well known to me, that Sweden hath
 “ many enemies and ill-willers; yett att present we enjoy
 “ peace, and England is engaged in a navall war.”

Wh. “ That is true, and by the blessing of God very
 “ prosperous, and whereby the power and force of the
 “ English navy is made appear to all; and that seems to me
 “ no reason why her friendship should be the lesse valued.

“ *Chan.*

1653. *Chan.* "I shall desire your exposition of the third article :
 Jan. 18. "what doe you meane by the words *lawes and ordinances*
 "there?"

Wh. "I meane the lawes of the common-wealth of England
 "in England, and the lawes of the kingdome of Sweden in
 "Sweden, equally necessary to either nation as to the
 "peace, trade, and tolles, which are directed by certain re-
 "spective lawes of both nations."

Chan. "I am satisfyed heerin, and shall come to the
 "fourth article, to which I must say, that there are divers,
 "now living in Sweden, who were formerly of the king of
 "England's party, and are now inhabitants and pos-
 "sessors of estates in Sweden; and it would not be just to
 "expell and cast them out of this countrey."

Wh. "The fourth article mentions those, who shall de-
 "signe or attempt any thing against our common-wealth;
 "and those English, who are become dwellers heer, are not
 "excluded from the grace and favour of the parlement;
 "neither as rebells against them to be harboured heer, more
 "then rebells against the crown of Sweden are to be har-
 "boured in England: butt I shall assent to any reasonable
 "or equall alteration to be made in the matter of that
 "article."

It being now past eleven a'clock, the hower of the Swedes dinner time, Whitelocke would not longer detain the chancellor; butt, appointing another time of meeting, they ended this daye's conference.

19. Lagerfeldt, the great creature of the chancellor, came to Whitelocke, possibly to find how the chancellor's objections
 to

to Whitelocke yesterday did relish with him, who, apprehending the designe, made some use of this visit to the advantage of the treaty. 1653.
Jan. 19.

Lagerfeldt argued the points over again; Whitelocke was not warme in his answers, butt seemed, in a careless way, not so much to mind the buisnes as he had done before: this caused Lagerfeldt to urge the more to know Whitelocke's intentions, who then told him, he had come a long and dangerous journey from England to this place; that now he hoped his longed for time of returning home was neer, and whither with an agreement or disagreement to what he had proposed would not disquiet or hinder him, who perceived, by the chancellor's objections and insisting on them, that an agreement was not much to be expected; yett he should have contentment in that he had discharged his duety.

Lagerfeldt seemed troubled att these expressions, and asked Whitelocke why he doubted a speedy and good agreement in his buisnes.

Whitelocke answered, bicause he had already indured many delayes, and saw little inclination to receive satisfaction to objections.

Lagerfeldt replied, that extraordinary occasions had caused the delayes; that the chancellor was an old man, and not so nimble in buisnes as he had bin; butt he knew that his excellence had a very great affection both for Whitelocke's buisnes and person.

Whitelocke said, that he propounded nothing butt what was for the safety and honor of the crown of Sweden, and might

1653. might as readily be accepted by them, as it it was respectfully offered by him.

Jan. 1.

Lagerfeldt often expressed his confidence of a good issue of the buisness; and Whitelocke spake purposely what he believed would be agayne related to the chancellor, and to the end it might be so.

Whitelocke was informed, that Piementelle was a little sensible of some omission on Whitelocke's part in point of visits to him, who was as worthy, for his civilities to Whitelocke, for his favour with the queen and freenes toward Whitelocke, as any person in that court to be respected by him; and therefore Whitelocke went often to visit him, and at this time had much discourse with him, touching the chancellor, and of his great experience in state matters, also of his slowe proceedings: butt Piementelle sayd, that all must passe through the hands of the queen, and that, after the consultations and debates of her ministers of state, she did what she pleased; as in like manner (he said) she governed wholly in all her councells, and in the Diette or Ricksdagh itselfe.

Among other discourses, he fell upon that of Grave Magnus de la Garde his retirement from court, which was now the common discourse; wherof he promised a more particular relation att another meeting.

20. The queen being returned from her journey, Whitelocke sent one of his servants to Grave Tott, to desire a private audience, to waite upon the queen, and congratulate her safe returne; and this he did to give the queen opportunity of inquiring what had bin done in the treaty between him and her chancellor.

The

The queen returned answer, that she was sorry she could not intertaine Whitelocke att present, she being ill, and very weary after her journey, so that she was going to bed. 1653.
Jan. 20.

Whitelocke theruppon went to Piementelle's lodgings, and the queen, understanding that he was there, sent one of her secretaries thither to him, to excuse her not giving him audience then, and to tell him, that, if he would come to-morrow to her, he should be wellcome.

Whitelocke desired the relation from Piementelle of the passages formerly discoursed on in generall, touching Grave Magnus, which, being a piece of romance, may, for diversion's sake, be heer inserted.

“ Grave Magnus was son to Grave Pontus de la Garde,
“ whose father, comming out of France to serve the crown of
“ Sweden, was so successfull, that, for a reward of his merit,
“ he had good revenues, and the title of a grave or earle
“ bestowed uppon him, and married there, and became a
“ subject and inhabitant of Sweden.

“ His son, Grave Pontus, was made felthere, or generall,
“ of the army, and was in great favour with the king
“ Gustavus, and a senator.

“ His son, Grave Magnus, the gentleman of whom is
“ the present discourse, was a proper, handsome, courtly
“ gentleman ; and, besides the honor of being a senator,
“ he grew into such favour with the queen, that her ser-
“ vants feared, lest she should settle her affection so farre
“ uppon him as to make him her husband : to prevent
“ which, it was so contrived, that Grave Magnus was mar-
“ ried to the sister of prince Palatin, cousin german to the

1653. “ queen, a match of great honor and advantage to the
 Jan. 20. “ gentleman, whose thoughts it seems did not aspire so
 “ high as was suspected.

“ This favorite of the queen having a faction in court,
 “ and free access to her majesty with much respect, parti-
 “ cularly because of his alliance, the queen made him
 “ grand master or high treasurer.

“ Having this honor and credit, he would permit none
 “ to be received into her majesty’s service butt his own crea-
 “ tures; and others he would represent to the queen as
 “ unfit for her service, or unfaithfull.

“ One day Grave Magnus informed the queen, that he
 “ was extreemly grieved att some reports, which, he was told,
 “ had bin made to her majesty touching him: the queen
 “ asked him, what reports? he said, of unfaithfullness and
 “ treason, which never were in his thoughts against her
 “ majesty; and it grieved him, that she should say any such
 “ thing of him.

“ The queen demaunded who had reported this to him;
 “ he desired to be excused from naming the party, butt said
 “ he had bin told so; the queen replied, I must know who
 “ hath thus informed you: he continued to excuse the
 “ naming of parties, butt the queen would know them;
 “ which he seeing, he named Grave Tott, and the baron
 “ of Stainbergh.

“ The queen presently called in those in the antichamber,
 “ divers senators and others, and said to them, Sirs, heer
 “ is Grave Magnus who hath made me this report, and told
 “ them what it was: the Grave desired her majesty not to
 “ speake

“ speake of these things publiquely; the queen said, she ^{1653.}
 “ must speak of them before those gentlemen, and recited ^{Jan. 20.}
 “ all that Grave Magnus had said to her, and sent for Tott
 “ and Steinbergh; and, before they came, she said before
 “ the company, that those were men of honor, and if they
 “ say that I have spoken these words, then I have spoken
 “ them.

“ As soon as they were come, the queen said to them,
 “ Sirs, have you said that I spake thus? and repeated
 “ Magnus his words: they denied that ever they said
 “ so, and desired to know who had reported it of them;
 “ the queen replied, heer is Grave Magnus, who informed
 “ me so.

“ Tott and Steinbergh replied, that they had each of
 “ them butt one life, which (by her majesty's permission)
 “ they would imploy to maintaine, that they never spake
 “ these words; and that if Grave Magnus would justify
 “ it, they would deny it to his face. Magnus answered,
 “ that he did not say that these gentlemen had spoken the
 “ words, butt that he was told so; Tott and Steinbergh
 “ desired to know who told him so? Grave Magnus de-
 “ fired to be excused, and so tooke his leave.

“ After this, the queen sent Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne,
 “ and marshall Wrangel, to Grave Magnus, to know who
 “ had told him that Tott and Steinbergh spake the words;
 “ and, after some excuses, finding the queen's resolution
 “ to know it, he named a collonell that told him so, who,
 “ being sent for, denied it, and said, that his life was
 “ in the queen's hands, which he would expose to main-
 “ taine that he never spake the words. Magnus affirmed he
 “ did, and the collonell denied; wheruppon, in great

1653. “ choller, Magnus desired leave of her majesty to retire
 Jan. 20. “ himselfe into the countrey: the queen wished him a good
 “ voyage, and so he went from court.

“ Afterwards some of his friends intreated her majesty,
 “ that he might returne to court, butt she would not graunt
 “ it: he also himselfe wrote to the queen for that purpose,
 “ butt she would not give leave for his returne to court;
 “ and writt herselfe to him a letter in french, which was
 “ this *:

See ap-
 pendix F.

The english of the letter is thus.

“ Since you desire to see me agayne, after the disgrace
 “ which is happened to you, I am obliged to tell you,
 “ how contrary to your satisfaction this desire is; and I
 “ write to you this letter to cause you to remember the
 “ reasons which hinder my consent, and which ought also
 “ to perswade you, that this interview is unprofitable to
 “ your repose. It is not in me to bring remedies to your
 “ misfortune; it is in yourselfe only to gaine reparation of
 “ your honor. What can you hope for from me, or what
 “ can I doe, except to moane and blame you? the friend-
 “ ship, which I did beare you, obligeth me both to the one
 “ and the other, and a certain indulgence which I have
 “ had for you; I cannot, without belying myselfe, pardon
 “ you the crime which you have committed against your-
 “ selfe. Doe not believe that I am offended; I protest I
 “ am not. I am from henceforth incapable to have any
 “ other apprehension for you, then that of pittie, which,
 “ neverthelesse, can nothing avayle you, since yourselfe
 “ hath made uselesse the thoughts of bountey which I had
 “ for you: you are unworthy of them by your own con-
 “ fession, and yourselfe hath pronounced the decree of
 “ your

“ your banishment in the presence of divers persons of 1653.
“ quality. I have confirmed this decree, bicause I found
“ it just; and I am not so forward to contradict myselfe, Jan. 20.
“ as some have made you to believe. After what you have
“ done and suffered, dare you shew yourselfe to me? you
“ make me ashamed, when I consider to what loweness
“ you are fallen. How many submissions have you made
“ even to those to whom you would have done ill? In this
“ unfortunate rencounter, one can see nothing of great-
“ ness, of handfomness, or of generosity, in your conduct.
“ If I were capable to repent, I should regret to have con-
“ tracted friendship with a soule so feeble as yours; butt
“ this weakness is unworthy of me, and having alwayes
“ acted according to reason, I cannot blame the appearances
“ which I have given to the occurrences of time: I should
“ have kept them all my life, if your imprudence had not
“ constrained me to declare myselfe against you; honor
“ obligeth me, and justice ordains me, to doe it highly.
“ I have done too much for you these nine years, when I
“ have alwayes blindly taken your part against all; butt,
“ att present, since you abandon your most deare interests,
“ I am dispensed with from having care of them. You
“ yourselfe have published a secret (which I was resolved to
“ have concealed all my life-time) in making knowne,
“ that you are unworthy the fortune which you had with
“ me. If you are resolved to beare these reproaches, you
“ may come hither: I consent to it upon that condition;
“ butt doe not hope that either tears or submissions can
“ ever oblige me to the least compliance. All that I am
“ capable to doe for you is, to remember little, and to
“ speake lesse heerof, except to blame you. This I ought
“ to doe, to make it appeare, that one is unworthy of my
“ esteem after such a fault as yours; this only remains,
“ that I can doe for you: and you are also to remember,
“ that

1653. " that it is to yourselfe only that you owe this disgrace
 Jan. 20. " which is befallen you, and that I have the same equity
 " for you as I shall ever have for all others."

" Feldt Marshall Wrangell had performed severall great
 " exploits and gallant services for the queen, both by land
 " and sea, and was highly in her favour, and her peoples
 " esteem; yett such commaund had the queen over the
 " greatest of her officers and servants, that she checked
 " this senator publicuely, only bicause he had made a
 " visit to Grave Magnus in the countrey, being under
 " her displeasure.

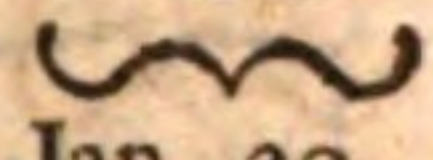
" Att his returne from thence, comming into the pre-
 " sence of the queen, she would not doe him the favour
 " to give him her hand to kisse, as she used to doe; butt,
 " in the presence of many, she thus spake to him:

" I wonder that you should disapprove my proceed-
 " ings concerning Grave Magnus; this is the reason why
 " I gave you not my hand.

Marsh. " I never disapproved the proceedings of your
 " majesty, butt shall be alwayes ready to justify them with
 " the perill of my life.

Qu. " Wherefore then did you goe into the countrey to
 " rejoyce with him, being in disgrace?

Marsh. " It is true that I have bin att the house of Grave
 " Magnus in the countrey about some perticular buisnes;
 " butt if I had known, that it would have displeased your
 " majesty, I should not have done it: I am extreame sorry
 " to have given offence to your majesty, and most humbly
 aske

“ aske your pardon. Your majesty knowes that I have 1653.
 “ bin, and alwayes shall be, ready to serve your majesty 
 “ with my life ; there be others of your court who have Jan. 20.
 “ bin to see him as well as I.

Qu. “ I know that my cousen prince Adolphe hath
 “ bin there also, butt he is his brother-in-lawe, and it is
 “ more fuitable for him to goe and eate of his comfitures ;
 “ butt for you, who have testified so much affection to
 “ my service, and done so many honourable actions, to
 “ goe thither is a reproach to me : butt since you have
 “ acknowledged your fault, and asked my pardon, I shall
 “ give it you, and wish you not to doe so another time.
 “ Uppon this the queen gave the marshall her hand to
 “ kisse, and he made no replye.”

Whitelocke thanked Piementelle for his relation, which so much discovered the humor and temper of the court and courtiers ; and so they parted.

The queen sent one of her secretaries to Whitelocke, to desire him to come to her att three a'clock in the afternoon, which he did, and was presently admitted into her bed-chamber, where two stooles were sett ; the queen sate downe, and caused Whitelocke to sitt by her. 21.

Many complements past touching her journey and speedy returne and the like, and she was pleased to give Whitelocke a description of the countryes and places where she had bin in her journey, with the occasion of it, and how well she indured it : to which Whitelocke said, that if she could so well indure such travayle, and att such a season, she might well commaund an army ; which, she replied,
 she

1653. she could doe uppon a good occasion ; and Whitelocke said,
 Jan. 21. that was like the daughter of great Gustavus.

Then the queen asked Whitelocke, if he had mett with the chancellor in her absence ? he said, they had a meeting, and much discourse uppon his articles ; butt he wished that he might have had the honor of treating with her majesty, and doubted not butt to have given her satisfaction, bicause he knew her honor and judgement would be satisfied with reason ; butt he made some question, whither her chancellor might not have some little prejudice in the buisnes : he hoped not, only wished, that her majesty's time, and other great occasions, would have afforded her the liberty, and him the honor, of her being the sole judge (as in trueth she was, and att last must be) of all these matters.

The queen asked, what her chancellor's objections were ? Whitelocke said, they were too long to trouble her majesty with them att this time : she pressed the more to know them, the more backward Whitelocke was to relate them ; who, nevertheless, willingly gave her a punctuall account of all the objections, with his answers uppon every article. The queen seemed fully to approve what Whitelocke had sayd, and told him, that in case her chancellor and he could not agree, that it must come to her att last, whom he should find to be guided by honor and reason.

After this discourse, she drew her stoole close to Whitelocke, and this discourse passed :

Qu. I shall surprise you with something which I intend to communicate to you ; butt it must be under secrecy.

Wh. Madame, we, that have bin versed in the affayres of 1653. England, doe not use to be surprized with the discourse of a young lady: whatsoever your majesty shall thinke fitt to impart to me, and commaund to be under secrecy, shall be faithfully obeyed by me. Jan. 21.

Qu. I have great confidence of your honor and judgement, and therefore, though you are a stranger, I shall acquaint you with a buisnes of the greatest consequence to me in the world, and which I have not communicated to any creature; nor would I have you to tell any one of it, no not your generall, till you come to see him; and in this buisnes I desire your counsell.

Wh. Your majesty doth me in this the greatest honor imaginable, and your confidence in me, I shall not (through the help of God) deceive in the least measure, nor relate to any person (except my generall) what you shall impart to me; and wherein your majesty shall judge my counsell worthy your receiving, I shall give it you with all sincerity, and according to the best of my poore capacity.

Qu. Sir, this it is: I have it in my thoughts and resolution to quitt the crowne of Sweden, and to retire myselfe unto a private life, as much more suitable to my contentment, then the great cares and troubles attending uppon the government of my kingdome: and what thinke you of this resolution?

Wh. I am sorry to heare your majesty calle it a resolution; and if any thing would surprize a man, to heare such a resolution from a lady of your parts, power, and judgement, would doe it; butt I suppose your majesty is pleased only to drolle with your humble servant.

1653. *Qu.* I speake to you the trueth of my intentions; and
 Jan. 21. had it not bin for your comming hither, which caused me
 to deferre that resolution, probably it might have bin done
 before this time.

Wh. I beseech your majesty deferre that resolution still,
 or rather wholly exclude it from your thoughts, as unfitt
 to receive any intertainment in your royall breast; and give
 me your pardon, if I speake my poore opinion with all
 duety and plainness to you, since you are pleased to re-
 quire it: can any reason enter into a mind, so full of reason
 as yours is, to cause such a resolution from your majesty?

Qu. I take your plainness in very good part, and desire
 you to use freedome with me in this matter. The reasons
 which conduct me to such a resolution are; bicause I am a
 woman, and therefore the more unfitt to governe, and sub-
 ject to the greater inconveniencies; that the heavy cares of
 government doe out-weigh the glories and pleasures of it,
 and are not to be imbraced in comparison of that content-
 ment, which a private retirement brings with it.

Wh. As I am a stranger, I have an advantage to speake
 the more freely to your majesty, especially in this great
 buisnes; and as I am one who have bin acquainted with a
 retired life, I can judge of that; butt as to the cares of a
 crowne, none butt those that weare it can judge of them:
 only this I can say, that the higher your station is, the
 more opportunity you have of doing service to God, and
 good to the worlde.

Qu. I desire that more service to God, and more good
 to the world may be done, then I, being a woman, am ca-
 pable to performe; and as soon as I can settle some affayres
 for

for the good and advantage of my people, I think I may, 1653.
without scandall, quitt myselfe of my continuall cares, and ^{Jan. 21.}
injoy the pleasure of a privacy and retirement.

Wh. Butt, madame, you that injoy the kingdome by right of descent, you that have the full affections and obedience of all sorts of your subjects, why should you be discouraged to continue the reines in your own hands? how can you forsake those, who testify so much love to you, and likeing of your government?

Qu. It is my love to the people which causeth me to thinke of providing a better governor for them then a poor woman can be; and it is somewhat of love to myselfe, to please my own fancy, by my private retirement.

Wh. Madame, God hath called you to this eminent place and power of queen: doe not act contrary to this call, and disable yourselfe from doing him service, for which end we are all heer; and your majesty, as queen, hath farre greater opportunities, then you can have as a private person, to bring honor to him.

Qu. If another person, who may succeed me, have capacity, and better opportunity, by reason of his sexe and parts, to doe God and his countrey service then I can have; then my quitting the government, and putting it into better hands, doth fully answer this objection.

Wh. I confesse my ignorance of better hands then your owne, in which the government may be placed.

Qu. My cousen, the prince Palatin, is a person of excellent parts and abilities for government, besides his valour

1653. and knowledge in military affayres: him I have caused to
 be declared my successor; it was I only that did it. Per-
 Jan. 21. haps you may have heard of the passages between him and
 me; butt I am resolved never to marry. It will be much
 more for the advantage of the people, that the crown be
 on his head then on mine; none fitter then he for it.

Wh. I doe believe his royall highnes to be a person of
 exceeding great honor and abilities for government: you
 have caused him to be declared your successor; and it will
 be no injury to him to stay his time, I am sure it may be
 to your majesty, to be perswaded (perhaps designedly) to
 give up your right to him whilest you live and ought to
 injoy it.

Qu. It is no designe, butt my owne voluntary act, and
 he being more active and fitt for the government then I
 am, the sooner he is putt into it the better.

Wh. The better for him indeed. With your majesty's
 leave, I shall tell you a story of an old english gentleman,
 who had an active young man to his son, that perswaded
 the father to give up the management of the estate to the
 son, who could make greater advantage by it then his fa-
 ther did: he consented, writings were prepared, and
 friends mett to see the agreement executed to quitt all to
 the son, reserving only a pension to the father. Whilest this
 was doing, the father (as is much used) was taking tobac-
 co in the better roome, the parlour, where his rheum
 caused him to spitt much, which offended the son; and
 bicause there was much company, he desired his father to
 take the tobacco in the kitchin, and to spitt there, which he
 obeyed.

All

All things being ready, the son calles his father to come and seale the writings: the father sayd his mind was changed; the son wondered att it, and, asking the reason, the wife old man said, the reason was, bicause he was resolved to spitt in the parlour as long as he lived.; and so I hope will a wise young lady.

1653.

Jan. 21.

Qu. Your story is very apt to our purpose, and the application proper, to keep the crown uppon my head as long as I live; butt to be quitt of it, rather then to keep it, I shall think to be to spitt in the parlour.

Wh. What your majesty likes best, is best to you; butt doe you not thinke that Charles V. had as great hopes of contentment by his abdication, as your majesty hath, and yett repented it the same day he did it.

Qu. That was by reason of his son's unworthiness; butt many other princes have happily, and with all contentment, retired themselves to a private condition; and I am confident, that my cousen, the prince, will see that I shall be duely paid what I reserve for my own maintenance.

Wh. Madame, lett me humbly advise you, if any such thing should be (as I hope it will not) to reserve that countrey in your possession out of which your reserved revenue shall be issued; for when money is to be paid out of a prince's treasury, it is not alwayes ready and certaine.

Qu. The prince Palatin is full of justice and honor; butt I like your counsell well, and shall follow it, and advise further with you in it.

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* Madame, I shall be alwayes ready to serve you in
 any of your commaunds, butt more unwillingly in this
 Jan. 21. then any other. Suppose, madame, (as the worst must be
 cast), that by some exigencyes, or troubles, your lessened
 revenue should not be answered, and payd, to supply
 your own occasions; you that have bin mistress of the whole
 revenue of this crowne, and of so noble and bountifull a
 heart as you have, how can you beare the abridging of it,
 or it may be, the necessary supplies for yourselfe and ser-
 vants to be wanting to your quality.

Qu. In case of such exigencyes, notwithstanding my
 quality, I can content myselfe with very little; and for ser-
 vants, with a lacquay and a chambermaid.

Wh. This is good phylosophy, butt hard to practise:
 give me leave, madame, to make another objection; you
 now are queen, and soveraigne lady, of all the nations sub-
 ject to your crown and person, whose word the stoutest
 and greatest among them doe obey, and strive to cringe to
 you; butt when you shall have divested yourselfe of all
 power, the same persons, who now fawne uppon you, will
 be then apt to putt affronts and scornes uppon you; and
 how can your generous and royall spirit brooke them, and
 to be despised by those whom you have raysed and so much
 obliged.

Qu. I looke uppon such things as these as the course of
 this world, and shall expect such scornes, and be prepared
 to contemne them.

Wh. These answears are strong arguments of your ex-
 cellent temper, and fittnes to continue in your power and
 government; and such resolutions will advance your ma-
 jesty

jesty above any earthly crowne. Such a spirit as this ^{1653.}
 shoves how much you are above other women, and most ^{Jan. 2^L}
 men in the world, and, as such a woman, you have the
 more advantage for government; and without disparage-
 ment to the prince, not inferior to him, or any other
 man, to have the trust of it.

Qu. What opinion have they in England of the prince
 Palatin?

Wh. They have a very honorable opinion of him, butt
 have not heard so much of him as of your majesty, of whom
 is great discourse, full of respect and honor to your per-
 son, and to your government.

Qu. I hope I shall testify my respects to your common-
 wealth in the buisnes of the treaty between us, and that it
 shall be brought to a good issue, and give satisfaction to us
 both.

Wh. That doth wholly rest in your majesty's power, to
 whom I hope to have the favour to offer my reasons in
 any points, wherein there is a difference of opinion between
 your chancellor and me; and I shall much depend upon
 your majesty's judgement, and good inclinations to my
 superiors.

Qu. I shall not be wanting in my expressions therof, and
 doe hope, that the protector will afford me his assistance for
 the gaining of a good occasion and place for my in-
 tended retirement.

Wh. You will find his highnes full of civility and respects
 and readines to serve your majesty.

1653.

Jan. 21.

Qu. I shall never desire any thing butt what may stand with the good of both nations; and what doe you judge the best means to procure free navigation thorough the Sundt?

Wh. I know no other means butt force, the king of Denmarke denying it.

Qu. That is the way indeed; butt what shall then be done with the castles uppon the Sundt, and the king of Denmarke's land there?

Wh. If it shall please God to give a blessing to the designe, the castles must either be razed, or they and the island putt into good hands, such as both may trust.

Qu. That is to the purpose; butt doe you thinke that England will assist to that end?

Wh. I thinke they will, uppon such reasonable conditions as shall be accorded; butt, in such actions, speedy and vigorous prosecution is necessary: the spring should not be lost, against which time preparations are to be made, and your majesty must be pleased to give me your propofalls for that buisnes; nor is the present treaty uppon my articles to be delayed, they being the foundation of the whole designe.

Qu. You may assure yourselfe, that the alliance between the two nations is as good as concluded, and will be done; and I will give you my propofalls concerning the Sundt: and if Zeland could be taken from the Dane, and the protector agree to my living there, it should be the place of my

my retirement; I would quitt the crown of Sweden and
reside there.

1653.
Jan. 21.

Wh. Your majesty would have the worst part of the bargain; I hope you would then bestow upon your servant the command of one of the castles there.

Qu. With all my heart; butt I believe you doe butt drolle: I will promise you more, that, if this buisnes be brought to effect, I shall be willing, if England will consent to it, that you shall have the commaund of all the island, and of all such swedish and english forces as shall be placed there; and I should not be willing to putt that trust into the hand of any other stranger whatsoever, so much confidence I have of your worth and honor.

Wh. Your majesty is pleased to putt an exceeding great obligation upon me, and I hope (by the assistance of God) I should approve my faithfullnes in any trust reposed in me: I believe my lord protector would as soon putt this great trust in me as in any other of his servants, and I shall acquaint his highnes with what your majesty mentions.

Qu. I pray doe so; and I shall give you my propofalls.

Wh. This discourse putts me in mind of a passage of my generall before I came out of England; he told me, he had a mind to quitt his charge, and presently followed an addition of honor to him: the like may be to your majesty, though not in title, yet in good successes.

Qu. All the addition I desire, is to be lesse then I am by a private retirement.

1653.

Jan. 22.

After three howers' discourse Whitelocke took his leave.

The Lord's day. After evening sermon, Mr. Stapleton, by Whitelocke's appointment, gave an admonition to his family, with much sobernes and authority of scripture, exhorting them to containe themselves within the bounds of temperance ; after he had done, the whole family being together, Whitelocke spake to them to this effect :

“ The good exhortation which you have received was by my direction, and hath bin given you with care and affection towards you and me, and chiefly towards God, whose trueths he hath declared to you.

“ I purposed to have rested heerwith, to which little can be added, butt somwhat which he said hath minded me of my duety, and that it is not sufficient for me to exhort or admonish you by deputy ; butt, as I am the father of this family, and must answer for your miscarriages, if I endeavour not to prevent and restraine them, butt by connivence or silence shall make them mine ; so I hold it requisite to lett you know my sense of your demeanors from my own mouth.

“ Some of you have so carryed yourselves with such discretion, civility, soberness, and piety, that thereby you bring honor to yourselves, to me, to your countrey, and to our God and father ; to these I shall say as Jacob said to his son Judah, *thou art he whom thy brethren shall prayse*, and, as the apostle exhorts, *doe that which is good, and thou shalt have prayse* : it is due to good men, and it rejoyceth my soul, that I can say to many of you as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, *now I prayse you brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances as I delivered them*

them to you. You have observed the orders of my family ^{1653.}
 which I delivered to you ; heerin you have given me con-
 tentment : you have given good example to your fellowes, ^{Jan. 22.}
 and to the people of this countrey ; you have pleased God,
 and prayse is due to you from me your governor, sent
 for the prayse of them that doe well, as you have done.

“ On the other side, I am sent for the punishment of
 evill doers, and am sorry to heare of too many such among
 you. I have admonished you before, and it had bin better
 both for you and me, if there were not cause to admonish
 you agayne.

“ Some of you, I heare, esteem yourselves too much
 kept under, and abridged of your freedome, bicause I will
 not permit your riotous courses ; and you say you will not
 be slaves to man : to me I am sure you know you are not,
 and I shall indeavor, that ye be not slaves to satan. The best
 among you, whilest you are of my retinue, ought to observe
 my orders, which make none slaves, butt all are as free as
 myselfe, who observe them as well as you, and will have
 them observed by all under my charge and care. I will
 not give you freedome to serve your lusts and sin ; is my
 service therefore slavish ?

“ The servile condition, and that of true freedome, are
 cleerly described by St. John, *ye shall know the trueth, and
 the trueth shall make you free ;* if you apply yourselves to
 the study of the trueths of God, that will make you free :
 you have the trueth of God to testify it, and, blessed be
 God, none of us are debarred from this freedome. The
 Jewes said, *we be Abraham's seed, and were never in bon-
 dage to any man ; how sayest thou ye shall be made free ?* our
 Saviour

1653. Saviour anfwears, *whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of*
sin. *If the son shall make ye free, ye shall be free indeed.*
 Jan. 22.

“ If ye commit sin, if ye haunt drinking houses, and riotous courses, ye are then in bondage, and slaves to satan, from which it is my duety to restraine you ; other freedom you doe not, you shall not want.

“ Have I not bin a father to you all, sick and well ? have you wanted any thing in my care and power to supply you ? have not I undergone the same hardships and daungers with you ? yett some repay my kindnes with dishonoring me in the sight of strangers.

“ Hath your countrey, your religion, merited to be scandalized by you among foreiners ? will you prophane the name of God, who hath so wonderfully preserved us, and destroy your pretious souls by your evill wayes ? for shame depart from them, I admonish you to forsake them, and expect conformity to my orders, and a pious and civill conversation in my family ; wherby you will doe yourselves and me good, and God will take pleasure still to doe us all good.

“ If you will not be perswaded to leave your sinfull courses, you must leave me ; if I can (through the goodnes of God) I will not have a wicked person dwell in my house, butt I and my family will serve the Lord.”

23. Piementelle and Lagerfeldt doing Whitelocke the honor to dine with him, they had much discourse about the treaty, wherin Piementelle was reserved in the other's presence. Lagerfeldt made an excuse from the chancellor for his not meeting uppon the treaty, bicause he was not well,
 and

and therefore could not bend his mind to those affayres; butt ^{1653.}
hoped within two or three dayes he should recover his ^{Jan. 23.}
health, and then he would neglect no opportunity of con-
ferring with Whitelocke further uppon those matters.

Wh. I am sorry for the indisposition of my lord chancellor, for his sake, and my own, in respect of the treaty, wherein I much desire expedition, and the rather, bicause I know not how soon the protector may commaund my returne home.

Lag. I doubt not butt the treaty will, in a short time, come to a happy issue, and I know the chancellor will speedily and heartily intend it; and it is not possible for your excellence to returne to England till the spring, about May, bicause till then these seas will be frozen, and the shoare so full of ice, that, without imminent daunger, one cannot goe by sea.

Wh. I cannot goe by land, bicause I must passe through the territories of the Dane and Hollander, our ennemies; and I cannot write to my friends in England and have an answer from them in lesse then two months time: yett if the chancellor please to give a dispatch to my buisnes, I will adventure some way or other to gett home; butt after our present rate I may stay till next winter.

Lag. I doubt not butt within a very few dayes the chancellor will meet agayne, and give a speedy dispatch to your treaty, which I shall further all that lyes in my power.

Wh. You will therby much oblige me.

White-

1653. Whitelocke being much indisposed, and ill with a feaverish distemper, kept his chamber; wherof the queen having notice, sent her favourite Grave Tott to visit him, who returned his humble acknowledgement of this great favor from her majesty.

Jan. 24.

Woolfeldt sent to visit him; and most of the grandees in town used the like ceremony to him.

The french resident came in the afternoon to visit him, and reported a great victory which his master had obtained against the Spaniard in Catalonia; and whilest he was relating it, came in the king of Spayne's resident: and it was pleasant to heare the complements between these two publique ministers, and touching the reciprocall affection which their masters did beare the one towards the other, and the great friendship between them; wheras, singly, neither would speake a good word of the other's master or servants. Whitelocke was much putt to it to place them so, in his chamber, that neither might take offence, which he did uppon his bed, and himselfe sitting in a chayre by them; and the french resident stayd not long.

After he was gone, Piementelle was free in his discourse about Whitelocke's treaty, and other matters, and particularly of Duynkerk; and Whitelocke acquainted him with the honorable proceedings of the english when that town was offered to be delivered to them, which they refused to accept by treachery: and Whitelocke and one gentleman more only were imployed by Cromwell in that buisnes, and all of it passed through their hands. Att which relation Piementelle seemed much pleased, and highly commended the honor and justice of the english in the carriage of that matter.

They

They then fell into discourse of the chancellor, and his flow proceedings in buisnes, which Piementelle much blamed: Whitelocke desired him to take occasion to give some hint to the queen of Whitelocke's apprehension of the delay, and to perswade her majesty to a satisfaction of Whitelocke's reasonable demaunds in the treaty; which Piementelle promised to doe to the advantage of Whitelocke's buisnes; and Whitelocke believed he did the same affectionately.

1653.
Jan. 24.

Whitelocke drolled with him touching his complementing of the french resident, and, he sayd, that men in his condition must give to others, att least, as good as they bring. He took leave, and afterwards sent to Whitelocke a present of citrones, grenades, and curious spanish comfitures.

Woolfeldt, in the afternoon, also visited Whitelocke, and discoursed of the chancellor's flownes in buisnes; and that he had a little envy towards the protector, bicause he had done greater things then the chancellor had done, and had advanced himselfe to that estate which the chancellor had proposed to himselfe to have done when the queen was young, butt could not arrive att it as Cromwell had done.

Whitelocke answered, that in England they esteemed the chancellor to be a friend to their common-wealth and parlement: Woolfeldt replied, that was true; butt yett he was no friend to Cromwell, the protector.

Whitelocke did somewhat marvaile that this gentleman should tell him the same thing concerning the chancellor, as the queen had told him before; and, recollecting himselfe, he had found the chancellor, uppon the buisnes of his treaty, not so well satisfied as the queen herselfe was, nor
so

1653. so forward in it, since the newes of Cromwell's being made
 Jan. 24. protector, as he was before; that all the objections came still
 from him, and were not easy to be removed.

Whither this were occasioned through the slowness, or rather deliberativeness, of the old chancellor, or out of any personall envey of him to Cromwell, Whitelocke did not take uppon him to make a judgement; butt was more apt to believe it to be cautiousness and wisdom, then dullness or envy: howsoever, Whitelocke determined to putt as much as he could to the queen, and uppon her promise and affection; and to use all the means of courtship and civilities both to the queen, and to her chancellor, and others, to obtaine his honest ends.

25. The queen sent agayne one of the gentlemen of her bed-chamber to visit Whitelocke, and inquire of his health; who, after some physick, was a little better, and returned his humble thanks for her majesty's great favour.

The chancellor sent his secretary to see how Whitelocke did, and he said, that his lordship intended to have come to Whitelocke this day, butt in regard of the extreame intemperateness of the aier, and the great snow, he was not able to come abroad; butt desired the meeting might be deferred to another day, and the rather bicause he heard of Whitelocke's indisposition of health.

Whitelocke answered, that he thanked God he was not so ill att present as that his buisnes therby should receive delay; butt whensoever the chancellor pleased, he hoped that he should be able to give him a meeting.

In the evening, Whitelocke being reasonably well recovered, the musick of the church heer, about twenty persons, came to Whitelocke's house, and brought with them their instruments of musick, saquebuts, cornets, and violins, and did sing and play in his presence reasonably well, although not exactly; and, for their paines, Whitelocke bestowed on them forty rickfdollers, wherof they were nothing shy in the acceptance.

1653.

Jan. 25.

Whitelocke was informed that these musicians were sent to him from the archbishop of Upsale, who was newly come to towne, and of whom Whitelocke had received an extraordinary good character for his learning and piety.

Theruppon Whitelocke sent his son James, in his name, to visit the archbishop, and to congratulate his safe arrivall in this place; the archbishop tooke this complement with much kindness, treated Whitelocke's son with all civility, and told him, that in a short time he purposed to give a visite to the english ambassador.

Senator Bundt visited Whitelocke: he had an alliance by marriage with the family of the lord Gorge in England, which occasioned his having bin in England, wherof he discoursed much, and chiefly commended Wiltshire, and praised the whole country for its fertility, healthfullness, plenty, and profit, even to the preferring of it (and that not without cause) to the countrey about Upsale. He also informed Whitelocke of the town and university of Upsale. Whitelocke asked him if he had seen the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: he said yes, and that they were greater then Upsale, which was agreed by Whitelocke, who said, that divers colledges in them were greater then whole universities in other countries; but he spared to name Upsale.

1653.

Jan. 26.

He fell into a large encomium of the ports, havens, and trade of England, and touching their dominion at sea: he doubted the point of the sovereignty claymed by England in the narrow seas, approving the opinion of Grotius his *Mare Liberum*, which he said he had read, and gained much satisfaction by it in this point.

Whitelocke desired him to reade likewise Selden's *Mare Clausum*, which he offered him; and sayd, he doubted not butt that therby his excellence would receive more satisfaction in the point of the right of England in the dominion of the British seas; for which Whitelocke shortly remembered to him some materiall arguments, which he formerly gaithered in his studyes on this subject: and concluded, that if the queen his mistres should become mistres of the Sundt, that then his excellence would be of another opinion, and hold the learning of *Mare Clausum* to be orthodoxe in the Baltick sea.

The weather being fayre and no wind stirring, Whitelocke rode about halfe a league out of town to take the aire, and found himselfe the better for it: att his returne home, he found wellcome letters from England; and, in those from Thurloe, a full account touching the dutch treaty, and of the letters of the dutch resident heer to his superiors, wherein he little feares that Whitelocke's treaty will come to any thing; and saith, that the queen will agree to nothing in prejudice of the Hollander.

By other letters he had a relation of the gallant fight which his frigott the *Phoenix* made with three Dutch men of war in her returne home, whom she tore, and killed many of their men, and came off herselfe butt with the losse of
eighteen

eighteen men, with many wounded, and the ship and tackle much spoyled.

1653.
Jan. 26.

This he caused to be published, and so, that it might come to the dutch resident, and to cause the greater esteem of the force of the english ships, and the contrary of the dutch: the Phœnix was much cryed up in the court, and the like believed of the rest of the english navy, which was some furtherence to Whitelocke's buisnes.

The intelligence of the treaty with the Dutch he likewise caused to be published, that therby the cleernes and honor of the english proceedings might be known, and the contrary of their ennemies: the chancellor highly approved what the English had done therin, and sayd, that the Dutch had done according to their custome, to pretend plenipotency, till the buisnes was brought to an issue, and then to deferre the conclusion to their superiors, which he said was their jealousy of one another, and of all persons whom they had to deale with.

He also published part of that intelligence concerning the french, as farre as it might advantage his own buisnes, their indeavors to hinder the dutch buisnes, and applications to the protector.

The newes of Spayne, as to correspondence with the protector, he also made knowne.

That of Scotland he sett forth to the full, the inconsiderablenes of the enemy, and the power and successe of England there; and this notwithstanding the late change.

The queen was pleased with these relations, which did much rayse in her esteem the protector and common-wealth of England, and further the treaty heer.

1653.

Jan. 26.

The french resident continued his visits to Whitelocke, and magnified the affections of the king his master to England, particularly in the dutch treaty, to whom Whitelocke would now and then give a hint, that he might perceive Whitelocke understood the secret passages therein.

Whitelocke's intelligence being so full and certaine, it came to passe, that in this court, by all except the ennemies of England, it was received for authentique, and that of the adverse party little regarded or believed.

Att this time was fitting in Upsale a publique councill, called by them the *outscot*, which signifies with them select persons out of the rest of valuable men: *scot* signifies with them as with us, a publique payment, as we say, one that pays scot and lot; and *out* signifies with them as with us, from, or out of so outscot is a councill selected, and called, by the queen, out of such as pay scot, substantiall men.

The occasion of summoning this councill is usually when the queen would rayse any soldiers, make a war, or levy money, or the like: then they summon the outscot, which consists of the senators, some of the nobility and clergy, and one or two from each territory or hundred, and some burgers; and these not elected by the people, butt summoned by the queen, and whom she thinks fit, and to advise her in such matters as she proposeth to them. Butt they can only give their counsell, and not levy men or money, or make any law by their own authority, those powers being only in the supream councill, their *Ricksdagh*, like our parlement: and this outscot hath some resemblance to the auntient great councill of our king, only that had no commoners, as this hath, and is more like to the councill sitting when Whitelocke came out of England, consisting of persons

persons selected and summoned by Cromwell; butt they
assumed parliamentary power.

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Jan. 26.

Seldome this, or any other publique councells, differs or
dissents from what the queen proposeth; so great is her in-
fluence on them.

The chancellor came to Whitelocke's house, where they
were three howers together in conference, part wherof
follows. 27-

Chan. I ask your pardon that I have staid so long before
I came to you againe to conferre uppon the treaty.

Wh. I am glad of the honor of your company, and of
the progresse of my buisnes therby; and you will excuse me,
if I thought the time long before we mett agayne about the
treaty.

Chan. I confesse ingeniously to you, that I desired to see
this week's letters from England before our meeting.

Wh. I thank you for that clearnes, and these letters prove
no disadvantage to our english affayres: by them appears
what good satisfaction is received in the late change there,
and that the honor and happines of the protector and com-
mon-wealth seem every day more and more confirmed.

Chan. I am glad your affayres are in so good a posture and
condition.

Wh. I shall reade the perticulars out of my letters, wher-
by you will have a cleer prospect of our affayres, of our
great

1653. great successes against our enemies, and the honorable
 ~~~~~ dealing of our common-wealth with their envious neigh-  
 Jan. 27. bours, and their contrary actions.

*Chan.* The same particulars I have in my letters, both from England and Holland.

*Wh.* I am glad my intelligence is so good.

*Chan.* I have not met with any publique minister, who hath kept his credit so high as you have done in the truth of your intelligence, and that hath bin so well furnished with it, relating to other states, and to your own.

*Wh.* My opinion and practice hath ever bin, and I hope, by the grace of God, ever shall be, to affirme nothing butt truth; and it concernes me to know the passages in other countryes, that I may the better serve my own.

*Chan.* It is duety and prudence so to doe: and I am glad to see the stability, and with the happiness of your common-wealth, and of the protector, whom I much honor for his wisdom and great parts and actions.

*Wh.* Your respects are not placed upon one who will not appear to deserve them, and to be worthy of the friendship of your excellence, and of the queen and kingdom.

*Chan.* I shall be ready to further that amity.

*Wh.* I suppose your excellence is satisfied upon the former debate touching my second article, that the mutuall assistance of England and Sweden against their respective enemies, will be of equall advantage and good to both.

*Chan.*



*Chan.* The objection to that is, that we therby may be involved in a war on your behalfe, we being now in peace with our neighbours. 1653.  
Jan. 27.

*Wh.* It is not certaine how soone you may be in war with some of your neighbours, and then we must be involved therein on your behalfe; and our english warres (through the blessing of God) are not likely to be of any long continuance.

*Chan.* I am glad of your good successes, and though your war with the Dutch should continue, yett methinks, that the ships of your friends should not be so disturbed in their trading as they are, by your capers and men of war.

*Wh.* Our men of war disturbe no trading, except men carry contraband goods to our ennemies.

*Chan.* Why may not our marchants, being your friends, and friends to your ennemies, carry any goods to either of you, without being, as we are, taken and indamaged.

*Wh.* Our ennemies (though perhaps seeming friends to you) yett will not suffer your ships, nor any other, to bring us any goods, imperiously forbidden by them; and it is butt equall, if not necessary, that we doe the like.

*Chan.* I thinke it is too much for either of you to make such prohibitions to those who are not under your dominion, and therby to hinder trade and navigation.

*Wh.* You have done the same in the war between you and Denmarke; and with us the Dutch made the first prohibition.

*Chan.*



1653. *Chan.* The fourth article is too hard for us to consent unto ;  
 Jan. 27. and we should be very severe to those who are now living  
 amongst us, and have given no offence to us, if we should  
 banish them out of our territories, as that article requires.

*Wh.* This objection being made formerly by you, I have  
 considered it, and find the latter part of the article to be  
 only, that you shall not admit or receive into your terri-  
 tories any of the rebels or traytors to England.

*Chan.* That is not just for us to consent unto.

*Wh.* For your satisfaction, I have penned an additionall  
 clause to this article, in these words ;

“ Proviso quod articulus hic non extendat, &c.”

“ Provided that this article doe not extend to any persons  
 “ now living under the governement of the queen of Sweden,  
 “ so that such persons have not bin excepted from pardon by  
 “ the parlement of the common-wealth of England ; and so  
 “ that for the future, they neither act nor attempt any thing  
 “ against the common-wealth of England.”

*Chan.* This additionall clause will take off much from the  
 difficulty of passing that article ; and it is offered with great  
 reason and judgment : I shall acquaint the queen heerwith,  
 and doubt not butt you will have a satisfactory returne con-  
 cerning this perticular.

*Wh.* Have you bin pleased to consider further of my fifth  
 article, which is for mutuall assistance of both states, by sea  
 and land, for removing impediments of trade in the Baltick  
 sea,



sea, and the exactions and oppressions in the Sundt, and for the liberty of navigation.

1653.

Jan. 27.

*Chan.* I have considered it, and that the crown of Sweden is att present att peace with Denmarke, and all the queen's subjects have free navigation through the Sundt; and it is true, that the English have not free passage there, and for that reason the article is not equall. What leagues or treatyes are between England and Denmarke I know not, butt desire to be informed by you; and much wonder att what you have told me, and what I myselfe knew of the king of Denmarke's dealing in such a manner as he hath done with England: I thinke it a great error in him and his counsells. Butt in case this fifth article should be agreed uppon, it would ingage Sweden in a war with Denmarke, when they have no cause in relation to themselves, butt to England.

*Wh.* I doe not apprehend Sweden to be wholly out of daunger of new warres with Denmarke and others, being a continent incompassed with ambitious neighbors, envying your greatnes: and the king of Denmarke, if he find an advantage, will soon deale with you, as he hath done with England, contrary to expresse leagues and treatyes between us, the copy wherof, and of all leagues that I think have passed between the two nations, I have heere; and you shall see them when you please. As to the Sundt, I looke uppon this article of much more advantage to Sweden than to England, when I consider their right in the Baltique sea, the many ports the queen hath uppon it, for the vent of the commodities of her country on both sides that sea: and though her subjects have now free navigation through the Sundt, yet, if other nations have it not, wherby they cannot frequent her majesty's ports, and her commodities be



1653. <sup>Jan. 27.</sup> vented to them, it will be no small prejudice to you. The more and more free access may be had into those seas, the better for your trade, and the same being at present interrupted, and may be, when the king of Denmarke pleaseth, more interrupted, will be a great damage and injury to you; and whither you judge it for your interest, that the oppressions and interruptions there, which generally light upon the queen and her subjects, as well as others, be continued and increased, must be left to you as your own business: but if you shall hold it fitt to remove and prevent them, you are offered the friendship and assistance of England for that purpose, and (blessed be God) you see they are not weak at sea; and besides particular interests, it is honorable and just as to the common interest and liberty of trade and navigation. Nor doth this article bind you up to any precise or punctuall way or war herein, but is a generall league between the two nations; and particulars are left to a future consideration and agreement.

*Chan.* I confesse the interest of Sweden is much concerned in the free navigation through the Sundt, and we ought to endeavor it, which possibly may be obtained by other means then by force.

*Wh.* The means are not determined by these articles, but left to future accord; but the conjunction of both nations will sooner effect a free navigation by any means which shall be thought fitt, then if they be not confederate.

*Chan.* I acknowledge that I have received much satisfaction from you in the points we have debated at this conference; and I hope there will be no great difficulty in the business: I shall acquaint the queen with what hath past between us, and very shortly we will meet againe about it.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* I desire it may be as soon as conveniency will permit, 1653.  
 bicaufe I know not how soon my lord protector may com-  
 maund me other service. Jan. 27.

*Chan.* There will be no delay in the tranfaction of this  
 buisnes; and, I hope, no dissatisfaction.

The discourse of Poland, Muscovia, Germany, and other  
 passages, are omitted; and the substance of what related to  
 this buisnes shortly inserted.

Grave Tott came to visit Whitelocke from the queen, and 28.  
 to inquire of his health; and told him, that the queen was  
 going a hunting two or three leagues from Ubsale, and  
 would returne within a day or two.

Whitelocke desired his thanks might be returned to her  
 majesty; and said, that if he had known of her designe,  
 and that his service might have bin acceptable, he should  
 have waited on her majesty to the chace, being a lover of  
 hunting.

The Grave replied, that Whitelocke's company would  
 have bin very acceptable to her majesty, and she would have  
 invited him to the sport, but that she believed his health  
 would not permit it.

The archbishop of Ubsale came to Whitelocke's house to  
 visit him: his equipage was not sumptuous, his coach  
 butt meane, his two horses suitable; a kinsman, a grave  
 doctor in his company, two servants like to gentlemen, and  
 one lacquay in a plaine livery.



1653. The reason of his smalle traine and state was given, be-  
 Jan. 28. cause his revenue was butt 1500 or 2000 ricks dollers,  
 which is about 500 l. of our money yearly; and the other  
 bishopricks of lower value, their means having bin lessened  
 and their powers abridged (as is related) uppon this oc-  
 casion.

An archbishop, predeceffor to this, being in his flourishing estate, rich in revenue and high in power (as all the bishops then were), invited the king and senators, and magnificently feasted them in his pallace; butt in his treatment, by his haughty carriage, gave so great distast to the king and senators, that thereuppon they took occasion at the next ricksdagh so to order the matter, that, by publique ordinance, the bishops and clergy were debarred from intermeddling in civill affayres, and their revenues were also lessened; which brought them to a lower condition then formerly they were in, and this archbishop to his present posture.

He was a comely grave old man, neer eighty years of age, yett of a fresh and ruddy countenance; his beard long and white, his stature middle sized, his carriage humble and gentile: his head was covered with a black velvet cap, furred and turned up, after the manner of his countrey, with another cap under it, a cassack of black filke stufte like to our bishops habit, with a long cloake over it.

He spake latin fluently, butt not pedantickly, and expressed himselfe with good reason, mixt with chearfullnes and learning, especially out of the fathers and humane authorities; and he was more ready then others of his coate in texts of holy scripture.

His companion, the doctor, was habited like his Metropolitan; a grave and sober man, with a long black beard, and  
 a civill



a civill behaviour : he spake good latin, and was well learned ; and it may be supposed they would not choose the unfittest men to discourse with a foreign ambassador. He spake not much in the presence of the archbishop : some of their discourse follows.

1653.

Jan. 28.

*Arch.* We in these parts of the world had great astonishment att the actions and alterations in your countrey, especially concerning the change of your government ; wherein I should be glad to receive some information from your excellence, if you please to allow me the freedome of discourse in so tender a point as this is.

*Wh.* Your grace is master of your own freedom and discourse, wherein I know nothing will be lett fall, reflecting uppon the honor of the common-wealth whom I serve ; and I shall be very ready to give you what satisfaction lyes in my capacity in those things, which you shall hold fitt to demand of me.

*Arch.* I shall be farre from any thing which in the least measure may reflect uppon the honor of your common-wealth, to which I beare a due respect ; acknowledging that you have done great and wonderfull things in your late transactions, wherein God hath appeared much on your side.

*Wh.* It hath pleased the Lord to owne the parlement, and our common-wealth in a strange series of his providences, judging on our side in all our appeales to him in the day of battle ; and in all our exigencyes he hath bin found by us, and bin our refuge and deliverer in the time of trouble : the perticulars wherof, I presume, have bin made known to you, and to most parts of the world.

*Arch.*



1653. *Arch.* You speake more like a bishop yourselfe then like a  
 ~~~~~  
 Jan. 28. foldier: it is the part of every good christian to acknow-
 ledge with thankfulness God's goodnes, which hath bin emi-
 nent to your common-wealth, wherof we have heard so
 much, and confest by your enemies, that it is yett hard to
 be believed.

Wh. Those, who have had the honor to act in our affayres,
 have seen so much of God in them, that we have more cause
 then of others to speak good of his name; and surely, this
 kind of speaking, bishops, soldiers, and ambassadors, and
 all sorts of good christians, and the wonders wherof we have
 bin eye-witnesses, I assure your grace have not bin lesse
 then report hath made them.

Arch. They have bin indeed wonderfull and successfull;
 butt with your leave, my lord ambassador, we in these parts
 doe not understand what necessity you were putt unto to
 take away your settled and antient government by kings,
 wholly to abolish it, and to resolve into a republique.

Wh. It was judged a prudence and necessity uppon the
 parlement party, for the safety and securing themselves and
 their cause, after their sword had bin drawn against the king,
 not only to throwe away the scabbert, butt to abolish kingly
 government, and to admit no more kings, which they
 thought could never be reconciled to them; and to resolve
 into a republique, that they might injoy their just rights and
 liberties, which had bin invaded and wrested from them by
 their kings.

Arch. Butt how could their consciences be satisfied, for
 the preservation of their owne rights, to take away the
 right

right of kings, and for their own safety to destroy their king. 1653.

Jan. 28.

Wh. Selfe preservation goes farre with mortall men ; and they held the rights of a people more to be regarded, then any thing relating to a perticular person ; and that it is not the right of a king to governe a people, butt the consent of of a people that such a king shall governe them ; which, if he doe not according to justice and their law, they hold, that the people for whom, and for whose good, and for preservation of whose rights, he is intrusted as the supream officer, may, if they please, remove him from that office : and uppon this ground the people's deputies in our supream counsell, the parlement, thought fitt to take away the government by kings, and to make it a republique.

Dr. It is no false doctrine, that kings are for the good of the people, and that the people were not made for kings, butt kings for the people's sake ; yett the people have not more flourished under any administration than that of kings.

Arch. Besides, for the approbation of the government by kings, we find many præcepts and promises in holy scripture.

Wh. Those præcepts and promises are by some applyed to all governors, and in generall to all formes as well as that of kings ; and there be also dislikes and disapprobations of government by kings, as that in Samuel, when a king was desired, they are said to reject God.

Arch. That is to be taken in respect of the manner and time of the demaund, not of the demaund it selfe.

1653. *Dr.* We find the duty of a king sett downe in Deuteronomy, and many examples of good and holy kings of Israel and of Judah.

Jan. 28.

Wh. I doubt that of them, and of all other rulers, there may be found as many who did evill in the sight of the Lord; and we find a generall approbation of the judges of Israel.

Arch. The judges had kingly power; and certainly the government by kings is no where decryed as unlawfull.

Wh. I doe not judge it unlawfull, nor against the word of God, or examples of scripture, butt doe believe they shall be nursing fathers; butt, as things were then with us, the representatives of the people judged the government of a free state to be att that time best for them.

Much other discourse was att this meeting on that subject.

29. The *Lord's day*. Lagerfeldt visited Whitelocke, and had discourse with him about the treaty, and how great an opinion the chancellor had of him; that he had received much satisfaction from him; and said, that he doubted not butt that his buisnes would come to a speedy and good issue, to his contentment.

The queen returned early in the morning from the country; this being usually with them a day of travayle: and it being the time of a fayre, the shops were open all the day, as they had bin the precedent Sunday; so little regard have they of this day, or of the observation of it, butt performe the ordinary works of their callings, buying and selling, carting, and travayling, uppon this as uppon any other day;

day ; and, which is yett worfe, acting commonly and openly 1653.
 their debaucheries, and appointing their drinking meetings ^{Jan. 29.}
 on the *Lord's day*.

Vifits were made to Whitelocke uppon this day, and to lett him know of the queen's being returned to this place ; butt he ftayed in his own houfe, not going abroad himfelfe, nor fuffering his people to roame abroad this day, butt all of them joined together in the worfhip of God : and according to his cuftome, he had two good fermons in his houfe this day, and good and spirituall prayers offered up to God in the worfhip of him ; and divers english and fcotts in this town were now as ufually present to be pertakers of thefe dueties.

Whitelocke vifited Piementelle, with whom he had usefull 30.
 difcourfe about his negotiation, and pleafant, touching the queen's hunting.

He alfo vifited Woolfeldt, who intertained him with difcourfe ; wherof he made good ufe in the tranfaction of his buifnes, and paffed divers howers with him, gaining knowledge from his experience, and delight by his facetious converfation,

He alfo received a vifit from Lagerfeldt, who, in the queen's name, made offer to him of her majesty's fleddes, to make ufe of them when he pleased to take the frefh ayre ; for which fayour he returned his humble thankes.

He vifited the queen to wellcome her from her hunting, which in this conntrey was described to him to be in this manner.

1653. As many people, as they can gett together, with guns,
Jan. 30. bowes, staves, and other weapons, in a great multitude,
some on horse-backe, and more on foot, goe to some great
wood where wild beasts doe harbour; and as many netts and
ginnes, as they can gett and make, they sett about the wood,
att the places where the beasts use to come forth: then they
putt some hounds into the wood, with people to beate it; the
rest of the company surround the wood on the outside, with
as many dogges of all sorts as they can bring from all
quarters.

When any beaste is started or rowfed, and comes forth,
be it conny, hare, deere, fox, wolfe, beare, or any other,
if it escape the netts, ginnes, and gunnes, then they sett
their dogges, as many as they can, uppon it; and some pur-
sue one, and some another beast, untill they kill or take it,
or that it doe escape them.

Whitelocke, to requite the queen's relation, told her the
manner of their hunting in his countrey, which he indea-
voured to sett out the best he could, as a great lover of it,
and their dogges and horses; which her majesty highly com-
mended, and said she would send into England for some horses:
Whitelocke told her, that if she had a liking to any of his
horses, they were at her majesty's service, to take her choice
of any of them; for which she gave him thankes, and seem-
ed not unwilling to accept of the complement.

She then spake of Dr. Whistler, of whom she had heard
that he was a learned man, and an excellent physitian, and
she desired to speake with him. Whitelocke gave a character
of worth of the Doctor to the queen, as he deserved, and
said, that the Doctor should waite on her majesty when she
pleased

pleased to commaund him, and she would take contentment
in him.

1653.
Jan. 30.

Qu. Have not you a secretary who hath bin in Spayne?

Wh. One of my antient domestick servants, and one of my secretaries, hath bin in Spayne, and is an honest faithfull servant.

Qu. I have heard that one of your daughters is of a good spirit, and averse to marriage.

Wh. My eldest daughter hath a good spirit, and therein hath the honor of following your majesty's patterne; and she hath refused good offers in marriage.

Qu. My chancellor is much satisfied by the conference he had with you; and I have ordered him to draw somewhat in writing for the clearing of some matters in the articles, and to draw an answer in writing to the papers, which you gave me since your change of government. I desire to know what will become of your treaty with the Dutch, before I give a full answer to your articles; because the ordering of our treaty will much depend upon your business with the Dutch.

Wh. I have given your majesty an account of that business.

Qu. And I have received much satisfaction by it.

Wh. Whither England have peace with the Dutch or not, yett the amity between England and Sweden may be concluded to the honor and good of both; and perhaps not of lesse advantage to both, in case our differences with Holland should continue.

1653. *Qu.* Butt there will be alteration in some perticulars, according as your treaty with the Dutch shall take effect, one way or other; and the resolutions to be taken heer must necessarily have a dependance theruppon.
 Jan. 30.

Wh. Your majesty's time must be observed, butt my desire is for what expedition may be.

Qu. My chancellor is an old man, and will take up much time in his discourse before he come to the buisnes; butt he will come to it att last, and agree to reason.

Wh. He is a person of great wisdom and abilities; perhaps he and his sons may have some shares in merchants' ships, which may occasion their extraordinary care in matters of that nature.

Qu. That is very true; butt I will be judge att last, and you shall not be unnecessarily delayed.

31. Canterstein, one of the queen's secretaries, came to Whitelocke from her majesty to informe him, that the queen, having received a paper from the resident of Holland, held it requisite to give an answer therunto in writing; butt before she sent it to the resident, she was pleased to testify that respect to the common-wealth of England as to communicate it to their ambassador heer. Whitelocke acknowledged with all thankfullnes her majesty's good affections and respects heerin to his superiors, and to their servant: he read the paper, which was in latin, to this effect.

Responsum

Responsum ad scriptum ministri publici Hollandiæ.

1653.

Jan. 31.

“ Reginam affecisse navis Anglicanæ culpam commissam
 “ Gottenburgi, seq; supra ea re velle communicare cum
 “ legato Anglicano, et pacem et bonam correspondentiam
 “ factam tectam cum utriusq; statûs rebus publicis se velle
 “ præservare.”

The answer to the writing of the publique minister of Holland.

“ That the queen was affected with the fault committed
 “ by the english ship at Gottenburgh, and that she would
 “ communicate uppon that matter with the English ambas-
 “ sador, and would firmly preserve peace and a good corre-
 “ spondence with the common-wealths of both states.”

Whitelocke desired to see the resident's paper given to the queen; butt the secretary said, he had it not: Whitelocke excepted to the expression in this answer (culpam commissam), and said, he knew of no fault committed by any english ship att Gothenbergh, as this answer præsupposeth, butt what was done by the english ships there, was justifiable; butt that this expression would reflect uppon the honor of the common-wealth of England, and of their ambassador, who had the government and commaund of all the english ships which were att Gothenbergh when he was there.

He related to Canterstein what had bin done by the Phœnix and Elizabeth frigotts, and by captain Welch, which he justified; and desired to know where the fault was, and that those words in this answer of (culpam commissam) might be omitted.

The

1653. The secretary answered, that he did not know any fault committed by the english ships; and he believed that the queen was of that opinion, and that this paper was only to intertaine the Hollanders in good humor; and those were butt words, which might be changed, as in saying, that the Holland resident mentioned a fault, &c. and he said he would speake to the queen theruppon: Whitelocke desired it might be amended; and so they parted; and this troublesome and buisy moneth of January ended.

Jan. 31.

FEBRUARY.

F E B R U A R Y.

WHITELOCKE, not having heard from the chancellor 1653.
 since their last meeting, held it fitt to send one of his Feb. 1.
 servants to him, to know what time he would permit him
 to come to his lodging.

The chancellor desired to be excused that day, bicause he was busy about the queen's affayres; butt as soon as he could have leifure he would send to Whitelocke to advertise him therof.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and desired of him the favour to write to his superiors, in the behalfe of one of the queen's subjects, whose goods in a ship att London were detained. Whitelocke wrote to Thurloe, earnestly pressing that those goods might be restored to gratify Lagerfeldt, who had bin very respectfull to him, and serviceable to the protector heer; and that therby the interest of Whitelocke with the protector might be testified, and he the better inabled to doe his highnes service heer.

Lagerfeldt often tooke occasion to speake of the queen high commending of our english horses, and perticularly those that Whitelocke had heer, which she had seen, and much praysed them; and said, that she had a great desire of having some english horses, and that she had chidden Lagerfeldt, bicause, when he was in England, he had not bought some english horses and brought them hither to her majesty, whom he knew to be so desirous of them.

Whitelocke

1653. Whitelocke understood this swedish language, and the
Feb. 1. english of it to be, to gett some of his horses for the queen,
which he the sooner apprehended, by the late discourie of
the queen herselfe in commendation of his horses.

He also thought that it might be some furtherance to his
buisnes to give the queen contentment in so smalle a matter
as this, and therefore resolved to make a present of three of
his best faddle horses to the queen, such as were fittest
for her own riding. In order wherunto, he sent the
yeoman of his stable to the baron of Steinbergh, the master
of the queen's horse, to advertise him, that he had given
order for three of his horses to be brought to the castle, as
a small present to her majesty, wherof he desired the baron
to give her notice.

The horses being brought into the castle yard, the queen
having notice of it by Steinbergh, came to the window to
see them, and stood a great while looking on them, and
much commending them, and Whitelocke's nobleness in
making such a present to her.

Afterwards, Steinbergh came to Whitelocke's house from
the queen, to give him thanks for the noble present which
he had sent to her majesty, highly commending the horses,
and saying, that nothing could have bin more agreeable to
her majesty then this present of horses, and that she should
have mounted them herselfe presently, had not the snow
hindered her.

Steinbergh sent forty ricks dollers to captain de Crispe,
the yeoman of Whitelocke's stable, and twenty ricks dollers
more to the three groomes that brought the horses to the
castle; and some supposed that the queen's officers tooke
the

the liberty to retaine part of her majesty's bounty to themselves, which is said to be usuall with them. Stapleton, the gentleman of the horse to Whitelocke, was not willing himselfe to goe with the horses when they were presented; which had not bin improper for him, nor to his disadvantage.

1653.

Feb. 1.

Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne having sent a present of a deer to Whitelocke (proper from him, being master of her game) the deer being larger then the english fallow deer, butt very leane, and hardly worth dressing: yett Whitelocke ordered that his cookes should make the best meate they could of it; and this day to take parte of it, Woolfeldt, Lagerfeldt, colonel Hamilton, and the baron Spence, dined with Whitelocke, and commended the cookery more then the venison.

2.

After dinner Lagerfeldt hastened away; and Whitelocke desired him to hasten the chancellor's proceedings in his treaty, which Whitelocke greatly desired to dispatch, and to see an end of it as soon as might be, not knowing in how short a time he might be commaunded home.

After Lagerfeldt was gone, Whitelocke had much discourse with Woolfeldt, who recited to him all his negotiation in England in the year 1642; and he spake freely touching Whitelocke's negotiation heer, and of the flowenes of the chancellor's proceedings, and of the advantages which he and his sons had by traffiquing. He held that the warre between England and Holland was much for the advantage of the treaty heer, who, he thought, would more desire that war to be continued then a peace to be made.

He advised Whitelocke to remit his buisnes to the queen herselfe, from whom he would gaine most ready dispatch and satisfaction.

1653. Whitelocke sent to Grave Tott to procure him the favour
 to visit her majesty att such time as she should appoint ; butt
 Feb. 3. answear was returned, that the queen desired to be excused,
 being not well, and lett bloud that day : butt some other
 time he should be very wellcome.

After dinner, the baron Steinbergh sent to Whitelocke's
 house three of the queen's fleddes, to use them for his plea-
 sure to take the fresh aier in them ; and Whitelocke made
 use of them for that purpose, and gratified her majesty's
 servants who brought them.

He visited Piementelle, who informed him that the compte
 Flaman, governor of Artois, had a designe to deliver the
 towns of St. Omer and Gravelin to the king of France ; butt
 his treason was detected, and he imprisoned and referred to
 justice.

Uppon discourse of the Dutch treaty in England, Piemen-
 telle showed unto Whitelocke a cobby of the heads of the
 speech of the French ambassador Chanut to the states
 generall att the Hague, uppon the returne of their deputies
 from England ; wherin he congratulates the hopes of peace
 with England, and desires that his master, the king of
 France, may be comprised in that treaty with England.

Whitelocke sent the french cobby of this speech, and the
 translation of it in english, to the protector, to whom only
 he was permitted by Piementelle to communicate it.

He gave intelligence to Thurloe of one Erpman, a Dane,
 and where he lay in London ; and that he gave constant in-
 telligence of all the proceedings in England, both to Hol-
 land and Denmarke, and doing very ill offices to England.

He

He also gave advice to Thurloe of some motions and particular passages of the king of Scots, and of some coun-^{1653.}
fells and purposes of his against the common-wealth, which ^{Feb. 3.}
Whitelocke had learned in these parts, and from persons of
quality and great knowledge and interest in the affayres of
this court, and of France, and other parts; desiring Thurloe,
by his intelligencers, to inquire further of these matters,
and resolving himselfe to indeavour, by his correspondence,
to gaine further and more perticular knowledge of these
matters.

He also gave a full account to the protector and to Thurloe
of all his proceedings heer, desiring direction from thence
in some points which he stated to them; and in this way the
councell of state were informed, and from time to time gave
approbation of his proceedings.

The expences of Whitelocke's voyage, and especially of ^{4.}
his land journey, were excessive high, increased much by
the rewards and gratuities, which he esteemed himselfe, in
honor to his countrey, bound to bestow on many persons who
did courtesies for him, or were imployed by him: and he
held himselfe obliged not to doe things meanly, or below the
reputation of the great common-wealth by him represented.

To supply his occasions, he had letters to severall mer-
chants att Hambourgh, and att Gothenbergh, and Stock-
holme, by the credit of Mr. Phips, a merchant in London.

When he was settled at Upsale, his expences there were
very great, by reason of his new-year's guifts, and rewards
for services, and for courtesyes.

1653. Butt principally his expences arose by his great hospitality, such as, the Swedes said, they never saw before : he had five tables furnished every meale, his own family being great, and his table daily frequented by divers of the grantees, and by inferior persons, who found there the best and most variety of meat that money could procure.

Feb. 4.

He allowed all his people what fuel they would spend, to thirty of their loads in a day, out of care of their health in that cold countrey and season, wherof he held good fires a great means of preservation.

When he was heer furnished with money, he charged the bills uppon his two brothers-in-law, Wilson and Carleton, who made use of their credits for 3000 or 4000 l. together, that his bills might not be unsatisfied.

Butt the difficulty lay in getting the money from the councill of state ; for which end Whitelocke's wife wrote him word, that she herselfe was attending the protector with earnest sollicitations, who civilly treated ; butt some of the members of the councill were not so civil, letting her waite early and long att their lodgings before she could be admitted to speake with their honors, to gett her husband's bills answered : only Sir Charles Oulsey was very civil and carefull to procure that justice to have the bills payd.

Heeruppon Whitelocke tooke the boldness to write to the protector, and to putt him in mind of his promise touching Whitelocke's expences, and to intreate him to order the satisfaction of his bills, and, perticularly, the payment of 2000 l. which, by this time, he had spent beyond his allowance. He wrote also to the same effect to severall of

his friends of the councell; and att last right was done therin. 1653.

Feb. 4.

The queen's secretary, Canterstein, came to Whitelocke from the queen, to show him her majesty's answear to the paper of the Holland resident; which answear, uppon Whitelocke's exception to the words (culpam omisiam), was now altered and amended as Whitelocke desired: and this was carryed with so much secrecy, that the Holland resident knew nothing of it, else would have stord att such an alteration. The statesmen heer are very secret in their transactions, and have therby no finalle advantage.

Canterstein also, by the queen's commaund, showed Whitelocke the project of a letter from her majesty to the protector, to congratulate his title; the which she would not signe without Whitelocke's approbation: and Canterstein said, she was resolved to testify as much respect to the protector as to any of her allies.

Whitelocke liked the letter, and thought not fitt to alter any part of it; only informed Canterstein of the protector's titles, and acknowledged her majesty's great respect unto his highness.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and discoursed freely of the treaty, and the chancellor's way in it; who, he said, had bin accustomed to a course of commaunding, and could hardly treat uppon equall termes: and he advised Whitelocke to treat with the queen herselfe, rather then with any other.

Whitelocke said, it was his desire to treat with the queen, from whom he was sure to find more reason and honor

1653. honor ; and that he had not bin used to be commaunded
 by any butt his superiors, which, he supposed, the chan-
 cellor did not esteem himselfe. He did also communicate
 Feb. 4. to Piementelle the unseemly answear of the chancellor, when
 he sent to him to appoint a meeting, that he was not att
 leisure ; which Piementelle said was like him. Whitelocke
 also advised with Piementelle, about a letter which he pur-
 posed to send to the chancellor to hasten his buisnes ; butt
 Piementelle dissuaded him from it, saying, he believed the
 queen would take it ill, who was very jealous of her honor
 and power, and did not like address'es to her ministers.
 Piementelle told Whitelocke of a question between him and
 the ricks admiral, whose coach should goe first att the bring-
 ing in of an ambassador ; the admiral insisting on it as his
 right, bicause Piementelle was butt an envoyé extraordi-
 nary : Piementelle alleadged his being a publique minister
 of the king of Spayne ; and the queen resolved it for Pie-
 mentelle to have precedence of all butt the prince's coach,
 and that Whitelocke was to have it of his likewise.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke in the name of the chan-
 cellor, desiring to be excused, that in eight dayes space he
 had not mett about the treaty, which was occasioned by his
 being extream buisy about the queen's affayres, so that he
 could not have an opportunity of meeting ; butt on Mon-
 day, or Tuesday next, he purposed to have another confe-
 rence, if Whitelocke's leisure would permit : who answear-
 ed, that his leisure would have permitted him to have mett
 every one of the last eight dayes if the chancellor had had
 leisure ; and he desired, that there might be no longer delay.

Lagerfeldt told Whitelocke, that the queen much desired
 a mare of the english breed, who theruppon sent one to
 her for a present.

An

An envoyé from the great duke, or emperor of Muscovia, arrived in this town; he came in fleddes 600 leagues; his trayne was not above twelve persons: he was intertain-
ed att the queen's charge all the time of his stay heer, as
his master useth to intertaine the queen's ambassador.

1653.

Feb. 4.

Whitelocke, hearing that the queen was not well, sent
his son James to inquire of her majesty's health: she com-
maunded to have him brought into her bed-chamber, where
he delivered his message in latin, and she complemented
him in the same language; which she used not to speake
butt in a speciall favour, and bid him tell his father, that
she was well againe, and now "*se non alio morbo laborare,
quam quod tres integros dies non convenerit ipsam;*" she
was sicke of no other disease, butt that for three whole dayes
he had not bin with her.

5.

The syndick of Gothenbergh informed Whitelocke, that,
by letters from the president of that citty, he understood,
that one of Whitelocke's servants, Taylor, who was sent to
Gothenbergh to bring Whitelocke provisions from thence to
Ubsale, and to take up money of Mr. Goffe for it att Go-
thenbergh, was gone to Denmarke after Goffe; and that
one who mett Taylor in Denmarke was returned to Gothen-
bergh, and related, that the post, of whom Taylor hired a
horse, said, he had heard nothing againe either of the man
or horse, which gave occasion to feare that some mischief
had befallen him, being a rash disorderly young man. Butt
he went from Ubsale to Gothenbergh, and from thence to
Copenhagen, where he found out Goffe and received money
of him, returned back to Gothenbergh, and from thence
brought Whitelocke goods in fleddes safely to Ubsale; and
this toure was made in little more then one moneth's time.

Mr.

1653. Mr. Ravius, a german gentleman, who was frequent in
 Feb. 6. Whitelocke's house, gave him information of fundry passages relating to England, which he had learned by his relations heer, who were of a good interest in this court, and well affected to the common-wealth of England, especially a bishop, his father-in-lawe.

This gentleman professed a great love to England, because he had bin there relieved, and placed in Oxford, and now repented his leaving that preferment: he, in gratitude, proposed to Whitelocke a way how the riches of that common-wealth might be multiplied, in a way not unlike to that of the banke in Holland, butt of much greater advantage, as he believed. Whitelocke desired to have his project in writing, which was done, and by Whitelocke brought with him into England.

The queen had desired Whitelocke to instruct her in the english tounge, which she had a desire to learne; and Whitelocke brought her the beginning of an english grammar, which he had caused one of his chapleins, Mons. de la Marche, to frame, and was fayrely written in english and french by Mr. Moreland. Her majesty was much pleased with it, and tooke paynes att this, and other times, to understand it.

Whitelocke told her, that, according to her commaund, he had brought his doctor of physick to attend her majesty; who presently sent for him into her bed-chamber, and discoursed a great while with him in french, touching physick, and touching her own indisposition of health. She also propounded two questions to the doctor: 1. Whither physitians did know any thing by their art, or whither they were guided by adventure and chance? 2. Whither good philo-

philosophers were good christians? To both which the doctor's answers were full of ingenuity and learning. They discoursed long, and Whitelocke did not interrupt them; and, upon the point of circulation of the blood, the doctor gave her more then ordinary satisfaction: and in all matters, she said, she never received more from any person, and gave him the character of a learned able scholar and physician.

1653.
Feb. 6.

The doctor being gone forth, the queen told Whitelocke, she was sorry that her chancellor had used him with so much incivility, as she had understood by Piementelle; and she prayed Whitelocke to excuse it, and offered to send to the chancellor about it, and to cause him to make his own excuse for it: butt Whitelocke intreated her majesty to take no notice of it; and she assured him of a speedy dispatch of his treaty.

She gave Whitelocke great thanks for the present of horses which he had sent her, and particularly for his son's mare.

Mr. Clavinger informed Whitelocke, that the merchants of Stockholme, and of the townes in Prussia, and other places of trade in the queen's dominions, had a meeting of their agents, where they agreed upon a list of the losses they had sustained by the english, in taking and detaining their ships and goods: and they cast up their losses to 200,000 ricks dollers, for which they demaund satisfaction of England, and are advised to have the same certified by the colledge of trade, wherof Grave Erick Oxenstierne, the chancellor's second son, is the president; and they expect upon the treaty with Whitelocke, that a course be taken for their satisfaction.

1653. Whitelocke held it not fitt to take any notice of this buis-
 ~~~~~  
 Feb. 6. nes, unless the same were first proposed to him, and desired Clavering to speake nothing of it ; butt, in case he could learne any thing further of this matter, to lett Whitelocke be informed of it.

7. According to the expectation and custom of this countrey, Whitelocke returned a visit to the archbishop of Upsale, whose lodging was butt meane in the roomes and furniture : after complements and great civilities, they sat down, and fell into discourse, part wherof followes ;

*Wh.* Your grace hath the honor, and most worthily, to be the metropolitan of this kingdome.

*Arch.* It pleased the late king to esteem me worthy of that great charge, though I acknowledge myselfe unfitt for it.

*Wh.* Your merits appear the more by your humility, which brings men to honor.

*Arch.* The word of God is so ; and the higher employments one is called unto, the more lowly he ought to be.

*Wh.* Your carriage agrees therewith, and report gives you a due reputation.

*Arch.* A good name is a blessed thing, and God is good to me heerin, as in all other things ; and I have respect from my brethren and others.

*Wh.* We in England have almost forgot the distinction of clergy and laity, supposing it to have bin introduced by the papacy for advancement of their order.

*Arch.*



*Arch.* It is related heer, that you have not only abolish-  
ed that distinction, butt even hierarchy itselſe.

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Feb. 7.

*Wh.* We have now no prelacy in England or Scotland ;  
our biſhops were their own deſtruction : butt with you,  
the authority and dignity of biſhops continues, as it was in  
former times.

*Arch.* The ſtate eccleſiaſticall with us (blessed be God)  
is ſtill preſerved, and our church governed by biſhops and  
ſuperintendents, and their officers ; by which means the  
church of Chriſt heer injoyes much peace, and flouriſheth.

*Wh.* Long may you flouriſh, and injoy quiet, and the  
freedom and purity of the goſpell, which we hope (through  
the goodnes of God) we alſo injoy in England. Doe the  
biſhops and their officers with you determine thoſe mat-  
ters which you call eccleſiaſticall ?

*Arch.* Their juriſdiction hath bin formerly more ample  
then it is att preſent ; butt they ſtill have the determination  
of ſpirituall matters, and governement of the clergy.

*Wh.* Is there no appeale from them to the civill power ?

*Arch.* In ſome caſes there is, and alſo when they exceed  
their juriſdiction.

*Wh.* So it was with us in England ; and the cognifance  
of marryages, divorces, adulteries, fornication, and crimes  
contra bonos mores, which they called ſpirituall offences  
(although perhaps they might as well have bin called car-  
nall), and the queſtions about willes and testaments, be-  
longed



1653. longed unto them, bicause they are usually made when  
 men are in extremis, and have need of ghostly counsell.  
 Feb. 7.

*Arch.* You speake more like a civilian then a soldier: the same jurisdiction, in effect, belongs to the ecclesiasticall state heer, and therby the people have much ease, and acquiesce in those judgements; and our people are not given to contention, nor our clergy to disorder, so that the ecclesiasticall government hath the lesse trouble.

*Wh.* It is a happy condition to live together in unity; butt you suffer no dissenting in opinion.

*Arch.* No man must vent his private fancies, or new opinions, contrary to the doctrine of the church; if he doe, we severely punish it.

*Wh.* That is somewhat strict, and may be construed to a kind of assumption of infallibility.

*Arch.* We take no such thing uppon us, butt desire to preserve peace and unity in the church, and members of it.

*Wh.* Those are good things; butt I doubt hardly to be settled in this world, where offences must come.

*Arch.* Butt woe to those by whom they come.

*Wh.* They may possibly come by too much imposing uppon mens consciences, as well as by new opinions.

*Arch.* We impose no further then is warranted by the word of God.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* And who interprets that word?

1653.

Feb. 7.

*Arch.* The church of God.

*Wh.* The holy scriptures interpret one another.

*Arch.* That is true ; and learned men are the best interpreters of those scriptures.

*Wh.* We are not wanting of such men in England.

*Arch.* Then you are injured ; for the report goes, that you regard not learning, and that you are putting downe the famous universities in your countrey, wherby learning will wholly decay and be destroyed.

*Wh.* That indeed is an injury ; and I assure you, that our universities were never in a more flourishing condition then they now are.

*Arch.* I am glad to heare it ; and I confesse I have not mett with such learning in a soldier as you shew.

*Wh.* I am butt meanly learned ; butt our universities are full of eminent learned men, and are the fountaines from whence the whole land is watered with the streames of the gospell, by sending out learned men from thence, who labour in Christ's vineyard.

*Arch.* Are your ministers in repute among you ?

*Wh.* Godly, learned, and able ministers, were never in greater repute then they now are.

*Arch.*



1653. *Arch.* Butt I doubt their means is shortened by taking  
 away the church-lands.  
 Feb. 7.

*Wh.* The lands of bishops, of deanes and chapters, are  
 sould; butt the parlement added to the means of the  
 preaching ministry neer 50,000 l. sterling yearly, more then  
 they had before.

*Arch.* That is a good addition. Are their livings in  
 parishes by tithes, as our are, and of good value?

*Wh.* Their maintenance is by tithes in their respective  
 parishes, and by glebe lands: some of their livings are  
 worth 500, 600, 700 l. sterling yearly, and most above  
 100 l. yearly.

*Arch.* That is farre beyond the proportion in our coun-  
 trey: how many spirituall livings have you?

*Wh.* There be in England neer 10,000 benefices, there  
 being so many parishes.

*Arch.* We have not halfe so many in this kingdome, butt  
 they are very large; nor are our spirituall benefices neer the  
 value of yours. Who bestowes those benefices?

*Wh.* Private patrons; and I and my colleagues doe give  
 many of them.

*Arch.* How can you bestow spirituall livings? are you in  
 holy orders?

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Heer are my orders by my fide; butt, as I am keeper of the feale of England, I have belonging to that place the guift of many spirituall benefices. 1653.  
Feb. 7.

*Arch.* That is ftrange to me to belong to one that weares a fword: with us, none butt the bishops and fuperintendents, perfons in holy orders, can beftow thofe livings.

*Wh.* Lett me defire your grace to informe me the manner of your institution of minifters, and conferring on them your spirituall benefices, as you call them.

*Arch.* We call them spirituall livings, bicaufe they are for the livelyhood of spirituall men; and I fhall informe your excellence the way of our ordination of men for fuch a holy function to preach the gofpell. When one is prefented to the bifhop for that calling, if he is found in learning and abilities fitt for it, the bifhop doth firft ordaine him to be a deacon; and, in that office, he makes triall of his guifts for preaching, and fo continues untill he be admitted to a benefice; and uppon fuch admiſſion he is made a prieft.

*Wh.* That is according to the canon law, that none be made a prieft fine titulo, before a benefice be provided for him: butt how are they prefented to fuch promotions?

*Arch.* When any prieft of a parifh is dead, or removed, fo that the parifh is deſtitute of a miniſter, the parifhioners meet together, and agree uppon the names of three deacons, whom they prefent to the bifhop; and out of them he choofeth one to be the prieft of that parifh, and ordaines him a preſbiter, and putts him in poſſeſſion of the living.

*Wh.*



1653. *Wh.* That is a good way to satisfy the people who are to  
 pay the dueties to the ministers.  
 Feb. 7.

*Arch.* And care is taken to putt in none butt worthy and able men into the livings.

*Wh.* Being so good care is taken to place fitt and worthy ministers in the parishes, I marvaile they doe not better instruct the people, to live more soberly and orderly then many of them doe, and not to prophane the Lord's day, as too many heer doe.

*Arch.* The ministers are not wanting to exhort and admonish the people ; butt, in these countryes, the custome of too excessive drinking hath taken too deep roote ; and, for observacion of the Sunday, there is due care taken.

*Wh.* I have bin much grieved to see heer so little observacion of that day, or rather so great a prophanation of it : the shops are kept open, fayres and marketts held, buying and selling of commodities, carryages, labours, and performing the ordinary workes of their calling upon that day, as upon any other ; nay sometimes even to disorder and debauchery in the open streets upon the Lord's day. Surely God is offended att such things, and will not lett them passe unpunished ; and your grace is more especially concerned then any other to indeavor a reformation therof.

*Arch.* No such works, nor recreations are permitted heer, butt post sacra peracta, after divine service ended ; and then they may be the better tollerated.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Certainly a part of that day was not sett aside, butt <sup>1653.</sup>  
the whole day was sett a-part for the speciall service and <sup>Feb. 7.</sup>  
worship of God; and we are to abstaine the whole day from  
the workes of our calling, else we hardly shall be accounted  
to keep it holy.

*Arch.* We observe the Sunday heer in the same manner  
as we doe the other holy-dayes.

*Wh.* You make a difference between the holy-dayes,  
which were instituted in the memory of some perticular  
faints, and the Lord's day, which was dedicated to our  
Lord Christ, and instituted in memory of his resurrection.

*Arch.* They are by humane institution to be kept holy;  
and our Saviour saith, *it is lawfull on the Sabbath day to*  
*help one's ox or asse out of the ditch;* and to dresse meate  
uppon that day is also lawfull.

*Wh.* Workes of charity and necessity may be performed  
on that day, butt not workes of mens ordinary callings,  
the day being sanctified, and sett a-part for God's worship.

*Arch.* I doe confesse that there is too much negligence  
among us as to the observation of that day; and in the  
convocation of the clergy in this countrey, there was a  
learned debate touching this matter; and it was the opinion  
of many there (of whome I was one), that the other holy-  
dayes are not to be ranked in equall honor and observation  
with the Sunday, and the difference of the institution of  
the one and of the other was noted: butt all agreed in this  
determination of what was then fittest to be done, that, for  
feare of tumults and insurrections by the rude people, it  
was not safe to make a suddain change in that which had



1653. bin by so long custome and continuance confirmed, and  
 Feb. 7. wherunto the people generally had so much fondnes.

8. An audience was desired by Whitelocke from the queen, and att the same time she sent Grave Tott to Whitelocke to invite him to the audience of the Muscovia envoyé: the Grave stayed dinner with Whitelocke, and, after that, Whitelocke went to the lodging of Piementelle, to rest himselfe there till the time of the audience; whither Grave Tott brought him word, that the audience was putt off, bicause the russe had sent word, that the notice of his audience not being given him till about ten a'clocke this morning, he had before that time dranke so much aquavitæ, that he was already drunke, and not in a condition to have his audience that day; butt desired it might be appointed another day, and he to have earlier notice of it.

Whitelocke spake with the queen touching his treaty, and after that showed her a letter which he had prepared to send to the chancellor to quicken him in the treaty; butt said he would not send it if any thing therein were displeasing to her majesty. The queen read it \*.

See appendix G.

The english copy signed by Whitelocke was thus:

*To his excellence the great chancellor of the kingdome of Sweden.*

MY LORD,

“ My attendance in this place having bin above seaven  
 “ weekes uppon my negotiation, which her majesty was  
 “ pleased to referre unto your excellence; and the an-  
 “ swear to my propofalls not being yett made known to  
 3 “ me,



“ me, nor opportunity given of meeting your excellence 1653.  
 “ in fouerteen dayes last past: I being uncertain how soon   
 “ my returne may be commanded, therfore, and in dif- Feb. 8.  
 “ charge of my duety to my lord, the protector of the  
 “ common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and  
 “ for the better expediting of those affayres wherwith his  
 “ highness hath intrusted me, and that I may not appeare  
 “ negligent therin, I held it requisite to desire your excel-  
 “ lence, that an answer may be given to the propositions  
 “ by me presented, and in such time as may not be incon-  
 “ venient to other great affayres, nor to this perticular,  
 “ wherin the honor and good of both nations is con-  
 “ cerned.

Upsale, Feb. 8.  
 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The queen commended the letter, and said, she thought it would be to good purpose to send it, only she excepted against a clause in it, that Whitelocke will be ready to meet the chancellor when he pleaseth, which, the queen said, was too lowe for the ambassador to write to the chancellor; wheruppon Whitelocke mended that part, and sent the letter as above recited: to which the chancellor returned answer by Whitelocke's servant that presented it, that he had bin very buisy about the queen's affayres, and that he would give a meeting to Whitelocke the next day butt one.

The queen read some english with Whitelocke, and tooke pains to learne; when Whitelocke took his leave, she invited him to come agayne in the evening to heare her musicke.



1653. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the chancellor, to  
 Feb. 8. excuse his not having mett with him in many dayes, and  
 to appoint the same time as had bin intimated before by  
 Whitelocke's servant.

In the evening Whitelocke went againe to court, as the  
 queen had invited him, and was brought into her bed-  
 chamber, and divers of his gentlemen admitted in likewise  
 to heare her majesty's musicke, which was very rare, and  
 performed by divers Italian eunuches, and others, her ser-  
 vants, and by Madam de la Bar, a french woman, and  
 her brother, who sang rarely well.

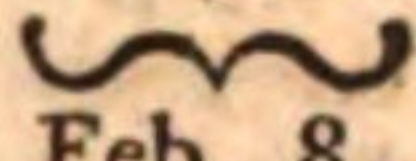
Besides Whitelocke, there was in the chamber Piemen-  
 telle, the Comte de Montecuculi, and another Italian  
 Comte, and many of her court. The queen was in a very  
 good humor, and taking Whitelocke by the hand, she  
 ledde him to a lady in the roome, whom they called La  
 Belle Comtesse, the fayre countesse, the wife of Grave  
 Jacob de la Garde: the queen sayd to Whitelocke, discourse  
 with this lady, my bed-fellowe, and tell me if her inside be  
 not as beautifull as her outside.

Whitelocke discoursing with her, found it so; and great  
 modesty, virtue, and witt, accompanying her excellent  
 beauty and behayour.

The queen pulled off the countesse's gloves, and gave  
 one of them to Whitelocke for a favour; the other she tore  
 in four pieces, and distributed them to Piementelle, the  
 Italians, and to Grave Tott. In recompence of the glove,  
 Whitelocke sent to the belle comtesse a douzen payre of  
 english white gloves, which are in much esteem in this  
 countrey.

The



The Italian Comte de Montecuculi saluted Whitelocke 1653.  
with great civility, and he returned the like respects agayne.   
Feb. 8.

The queen sent one of her servants to Whitelocke, to 9.  
give him notice of the audience of the Muscovia envoyé;  
Whitelocke went to court att the time, and there fell out a  
little bustle, the ricks admirall stepping betwixt the queen  
and Whitelocke to take his place there, was by Whitelocke  
putt aside, and Whitelocke stood next to the queen on her  
right hand: she perceiving the passage smiled, and asked  
Whitelocke, how he durst affront so great an officer in her  
court and sight? Whitelocke answered, bicause that officer  
first affronted the ambassador of the great common-wealth  
of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The queen replied,  
you doe well to make them know themselves and you the  
better.

The audience was in this manner: First there presented  
himselſe a tall bigge man, with a large rude black beard,  
pale countenance, and ill demeanor.

His habit was a long robe of purple cloth, laced with a  
smalle gould lace, the livery of his master; on his right  
hand was a companion in the same livery, and much like  
the envoyé in feature and behaviour: he carryed on high  
the great duke's letters, sett in a frame of wood, with a  
covering of crimson farcenet over them; on the left hand  
of the envoyé was his interpreter.

After his uncouth reverences made, he spake to the queen  
in his own language; the greatest part of his harangue, in  
the beginning, might be understood to be nothing butt his  
master's titles: in the midst of his speech he was quite out;  
butt,



1653. butt, after a little pause, recovered himselfe againe with the  
 assistance of a paper.  
 Feb. 9.

When he had done, one of the queen's servants interpreted in Swedish what was said: then one of the queen's secretaries answered in Swedish to what the envoyé had spoken; and that was interpreted to him in his own language by his own interpreter.

After this, the envoyé cast himselfe flat upon his face on the floore, and seemed to kisse it; then rising up againe, he went and kist the queen's hand, holding his own hands behind him. In the same order his fellow demeaned himselfe, and presented to the queen his master's letters.

The queen gave the letter to Whitelocke to looke on it; it was sealed with an eagle; the characters were like the Greek letters, and some like the Persicke. After the ceremony ended, the ruffes returned to their aquavitæ, and Whitelocke to his lodging to dinner.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke being invited by the queen to accompany her to take the ayre on horseback, he waited on her, and had much discourse with her about his buisnes.

She was mounted upon one of the horses which Whitelocke gave her, and had pistols att her saddle bowe; she much commended the horse, and thanked Whitelocke for him, and said she never rode so good a horse before.

Att their returne to the castle they fell to trying of armes; the queen's pistols and Whitelocke's pistols were com-



compared together for the workmanship, and both tryed, 1653. by the queen herselfe discharging them, and by Whitelocke <sup>Feb. 9.</sup> and others; butt he being lame, and weary with standing, stole home to his lodging.

The chancellor came to Whitelocke's house, and they were together above four howers; the sum of the chancellor's discourse was to this effect: 10.

He made a very large apology for his long absence from Whitelocke, saying, that he was imployed in a very great buisnes by the queen's commaund, which had taken up very much of his time; and did confesse ingeniously, that he desired first to know what would be the event of the treaty between England and Holland, before he proceeded further with Whitelocke in the treaty heer, bicause the issue of that treaty in England would necessarily beget an alteration in those things which did concerne the treaty heer.

That it was yett doubtfull whither the treaty in England would take effect, and be confirmed or not; that if England and Holland should make a league between them, then as the articles heer are propounded, if they should be so agreed between Sweden and England, Sweden should thereby incurre the hatred of the Hollanders, and they would study revenge against Sweden: butt if the peace should not be made betwixt England and Holland, then there would not be so much daunger.

That many letters did affirme, that the king of Denmarke was included in the same articles of confederation with the Hollanders, who had undertaken, in favor of the Danes, that satisfaction should be given to the English for the



1653. the wrongs by them sustained; which, if it should be true,  
 then probably, by force of the articles with Holland, the  
 Feb. 10. English will have liberty to exercise free navigation through  
 the Sundt, and then there will not be so much need of  
 consent to the first and fifth articles of the treaty heer;  
 which if they should be consented unto before hand, it  
 would breed an occasion of hatred and enmity on the part  
 of the Swedes towards the Danes, to be professed by the  
 Swedes, as if it were a detriment to the kingdome of Swe-  
 den for the Danes to be included in the articles of pacifi-  
 cation between England and Holland.

That there are many things besides, in the articles heer,  
 which concerne navigation and transportation of commo-  
 dities from countrey to countrey, wherof there will be no  
 use if the peace between England and Holland be conclud-  
 ed; and if the war should be continued, then a perticular  
 care is to be had more then otherwise. Out of all which,  
 he concluded that it was necessary, before the buisnes heer  
 should be finished, to understand what issue and event that  
 treaty would have in England; the desire of knowing the  
 trueth and certainty wherof was the cause that hitherto  
 he had not given a meeting unto Whitelocke: and that,  
 having taken the best consideration he could uppon the ar-  
 ticles heer under judgement, he should be the better able to  
 give Whitelocke satisfaction theruppon.

He expressed a great respect to the common-wealth of  
 England, and the desirableness of an alliance with them;  
 butt that the manner of the making therof would much  
 depend uppon the issue of that treaty in England.

That the present war between the two common-wealths,  
 by further delay, might involve Sweden, if they should  
 con-



consent to Whitelocke's propofalls ; when att present they 1653.  
were free from war, and injoyed a full peace.

Feb. 10.

Then the chancellor fell into a very large discourse of all the affayres between Sweden and Denmarke, and in Russia, Poland, and Germany. He spake much also of the severall ports of Wismer, Stetin, Riga, Narva, and others, in the Baltick sea, and of the severall commodities in them, wherof England had use.

That the Swedes more desired trade with the English then any other nation ; and professed, that he should never be wanting to testify his respects to that common-wealth.

To that which Whitelocke demaunded of him, whither peace or war between the two common-wealths would most please them, and conduce to their affayres, he said, that as a christian, and a friend to mankind, he wished peace to all the world, and especially between the two common-wealths ; and that he wished the same as he was a minister of state, bicause he believed, that then there would be a free navigation through the Sundt, which would be to the great benefit of Sweden, and wherby their trade would be increased, and their commodities and marchants have the more safe and free passage ; which now, by reason of the differences of those common-wealths, were very much disturbed and indamaged : that a smalle matter did sometimes turne the dye of war, and, therefore, he judged it the part of prudent men to imbrace peace when it could be obtained.

The sum of Whitelocke's answer to this long speech of the chancellor was to this purpose :

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H h h

He



1653. He thanked the chancellor for his candid and cleer dealing with him in this buisnes, wherby he testified that honor and ingenuity which was in him; that he knew the affayres, wherein the chancellor was imployed, were many and the greatest, and his the best hand that the queen could putt them into.

Feb. 10.

That he was sorry, it could not yett be known what would be the event of the treaty in England, nor could he tell how long a time it might be before the same could be knowne, nor in how short a time it might please the protector to commaund his returne home; which were the reasons why he was so desirous to obtaine an answer to his propositions.

That, in the matters proposed by him, was no mention of the Hollanders, and although att that time they were in war against England, yett that caused then no objections against this treaty; and it was hard for him to find out a reason, that the objections should be raysted uppon a treaty of peace with the Dutch, which were not att first, when it was known they were in war with England. That if peace be made between the two common-wealths, there may possibly be some labour saved therby in the drawing up of the treaty heer. That this to him was no great occasion of altering his proposalls, nor did he know any extraordinary cause for an alteration on the Swedes' part uppon that occasion; butt they were the judges therof: and if the war should be continued with Holland, then the matter will be the same as when the proposall were heer first received; and the making of a peace with Holland cannot make these articles the lesse gratefull heer, or occasion any alteration in them, or ill will between this crown and Holland, which is not named in the articles; neither could he see

that,



that, by them, between Sweden and Denmarke an enmity 1653.  
 was like to be contracted, wherof he thought there was <sup>Feb. 10.</sup>  
 enough already.

That as to the article touching prohibited goods, if the war continue, perticular agreements theruppon are referred to a future confideration, and if the peace be made, then that labour will be saved: and whither the English have war or peace with Holland, he thought their friendship and alliance worthy the Swedes' acceptance; and that, by their present war, no dishonor had befallen England, butt their power att sea (through God's blessing) had appeared not to be inconsiderable, and therefore their alliance not to be undesirable.

That Sweden had many potent envious neighbors, as by what the chancellor had related of Denmarke, Muscovia, Poland, and Germany, did appeare; for which relations Whitelocke thanked him, and held them all to be arguments for an alliance with England.

As to the commodities of the ports of this town, he sayd, that Monf. Lagerfeldt, in his negotiation in England, had offered them to be had att Gothenbergh, in case the navigation were not free through the Sundt; and as those were necessary for England (which they also could have in their own dominions in the Indies), so the more liberty of fetching them would be the more for the commodity of the queen and her subjects.

That the chancellor had now, and all times expressed himselfe a pious christian and wise statesman in his wishes of peace, to have which, Whitelocke knew to be the desire of his superiors.



1653. The sum of all he could gett from the chancellor was,  
 ~~~~~ that, before a proceeding in the treaty heer, it was re-  
 Feb. 10. solved to know what would be the event of that in Eng-
 land.

11. Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne visited Whitelocke, who thanked him for the deare and great oyfters which he had sent to him the day before, and which were a great rarity in these parts, most of them brought hither out of Holland.

The Grave caused to be brought to Whitelocke's house, a Laplander and his sledde drawn by a rayne deer, wherof the Laplander had two very tame.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke while the Laplander and his wife were with him: the man (if he may be so tearmed) is of a short stature, thicke and strong made; his face and countenance very unlike to other men, a broade face, a high forehead, a great head, staring eyes, long nose, a very wide mouth, and swelled lippes; his language not understood by the Swedes, more then the Irish is by the English; his fashion very rude, his habit of beasts' skins, with the hayre outward, jacket, breeches, and stockins of the same. When he daunced, which he was apt to doe, it was in a strange uncouth posture, and his singing was little different from howling: his wife was a fitt match for him, in respect of person, feiture, and behaviour.

The *rayne* deer, which they commaunded, are of a whitish colour, bigger then our fallow deer, little lesse then our red deer; their heads more like our stagges then buckes, their joints and limbes are very strong and thicke, like their governors, and they are as tame as any dogges: they have an incredible swiftnes in their running, insomuch, as it is
 con-

confidently affirmed, that one of them will draw a sledde, 1653.
 with a man in it, 100 miles in a day; nay, they doe not
 stay heer, butt report, that if one have an extraordinary ^{Feb. 10.}
 occasion to be 300 miles from the place where he is, if he
 take a sledde and a rayne deer, and, wrapping himselfe
 with furies, lye down to sleep in the sledde, having first
 whispered the rayne deer in the eare whither he would goe,
 that in twelve hours the deer will bring him to the place
 appointed, though it be two or three hundred miles from
 the place where he first tooke the sledde; butt this is confest
 to be done by the power of witchcraft, and it is better to
 heare them relate it, then to make any tryall of it.

After they had seen a course with the Laplander in his
 sledde with his rayne deer, Piementelle invited Whitelocke
 to goe to the castle to see shooting att the White with har-
 quebusses and pistolls: they went together in Piementelle's
 coach, which was of such a fashion that one might make a
 bed of the whole coach, or place a table in it, and under
 one seate might putt meate, and under the other bottles;
 both sides of the coach were close with glasse windowes to
 open or shutt as they pleased.

Being come to the castle, they saw the queen discharge
 two or three pistolls out of the windowe; and many gen-
 tlemen and officers of the army were there shooting at the
 White, which is a great recreation with them.

When Whitelocke was waiting on the queen att her
 sports and recreations and taking the aier, she would some-
 times speake a little to him by the way, touching the
 treaty; butt he never would, att those times, putt her
 uppon it to interrupt her diversions, butt answer her
 questions.

1653. questions only. When they were shooting at the White,
 she spake to him thus :
 Feb. 11.

Qu. Monsieur L'Ambassadeur, what discourse had you yesterday with my chancellor about the treaty ?

Wh. Madame, we had a very large conference together about it ; butt he seems desirous to know, what will be the issue of the dutch treaty in England before any further proceedings in my buisnes heer.

Qu. I think it a very reasonable thing ; and I believe you doe so too.

Wh. I cannot deny butt in some respects it may be reasonable, butt I desire greatly the conclusion of my buisnes ; and doe hope, that when the slow pace of our fatt neighbors will permit their treaty with England to come to a conclusion, that your majesty will not be long in resolving about my buisnes heer.

Qu. I promise you, that after the certainty shall be known of the dutch treaty with you in England, you shall receive my answer in a short time ; wherein I will deale very freely with you, and tell you, without difficulty, what I can consent unto, and what I cannot, and my reasons for it.

Wh. I desire no better assurance of my dispatch then the word of a queen, who deales so like a queen with me ; and I shall ingage myselfe to deale like a gentleman.

Qu. I have found no other butt honorable dealing from you ; the reason, why my chancellor hath not given an answer

answear in writing to your propositions, is, bicause I did not approve of that which he had prepared and shewed to me, butt ordered him to make a new project. 1653. Feb. 11.

Uppon invitation from the queen, Whitelocke was att the castle late in the evening to heare the queen's musick, which was so excellent, and the queen in so good a humor, that Whitelocke stayerd there many howres in the night in much pleasure: her majesty would often come to Whitelocke and discourse with him of her musicke, wherof he was able to make some judgement, which the queen found, and liked well; butt Whitelocke would not interrupt her delight with one word of serious matters, unles her majesty first propounded them unto him.

The queen had much commended Whitelocke's eldest son, for a handsom, well-fashioned, young gentleman; and being told that he had not bin well, so great was her favour and civility, that she sent this morning one of her servants to Whitelocke's house to inquire of his son's health. 12.

After Whitelocke had celebrated this *Lord's day* in the usuall manner, and had heard two good sermons preached by his chapleins in his house, there was in the evening a great noise and disorder in the street before his house, trumpets founding and drummes beating, with shoutings and a great tumult of all sorts of people; wherat looking, and sending forth, they found the buisnes to be, that a great company of gentlemen and officers of the army, and others, among whom was generall major Horne, and other great men, came into the open markett place, marching thither through the streets, with drummes beating and trumpets founding before them, and servants carrying flaggons of wine and glasses after them. In this posture (not for divine service or worship) they came into the markett place, where they made

1653. made a great ring, placed their servants, with the flaggons,
 bottles, and glasses, in the midst of the ring, and themselves
 Feb. 12. kneeling downe round about: there they dranke healths
 to the queen a long time together, drummes and trumpets
 and roaring att every drinking of the health, proclaiming
 this astonishing impudence of sinning to the face of God
 with an high hand. A debauchery not to be practised att any
 time, much lesse in so horrible a wickedness and prophanation
 of his day, who is able, and will punish such detestable ini-
 quities and flagitious crimes; instead of the service and
 worship of God on this day, they thus betooke themselves
 to the worship and service of the divell.

After they had done thus in the markett place (which
 some imagined was purposely as a scorne to Whitelocke), they
 returned againe reeling to other streets, doing the same wick-
 edness there also; butt Whitelocke tooke no notice of it,
 butt pittied their condition, and was grieved for them.

13. The queen sent to Whitelocke to beare her company to
 take the aier on horse-backe, which he did; and by the way
 she had some little touches with him about his treaty: att
 their returne to the castle, she intertained Piementelle, Mon-
 tecuculi, and Whitelocke with pleasant discourse two howers
 together.

She spake of most noted authors who had written in the
 italian, french, latin, greek, and other languages; and
 before all the rest she commended Petronius. Whitelocke
 asked her if she had seen a booke lately written in latin by
 one Milton, an englishman, and how she liked his stile; she
 highly commended the matter of part of it, and the lan-
 guage.

Then

Then she fell into the prayse of Germanicus, and severall other worthies, Greekes and Romans, and shewed her great knowledge in history and in the sciences. 1653. Feb. 13.

One informed Whitelocke, as a great secret, that the queen intended to quit the crown; and said, that she had proposed it to her councill of senators, and that she purposed to retire herselfe unto a private life: that the senators were much troubled att it, and sought to dissuade her majesty from any such intention; butt that she continued very resolute in her purpose, and sought for a seasonable time and opportunity to effect it.

Sir George Fletewood, an english gentleman, visited and performed many civilities and kindneses to Whitelocke; he came into this countrey many years past, with some of his countrymen, to serve the king Gustavus Adolphus, from whom he had great favour, and was made a collonell, and afterwards governor of a town, and a generall major: he married an heir in this country, by whom he had severall children, and a fayre estate, and was now settled heer, and well beloved att court, and in the army, and in the countrey, as if he had bin a native of it. He is a gentleman of a good family, and of much honor and integrity, and of particular friendlynes to Whitelocke, with whom he was often heer, and did very good offices for Whitelocke, and informed him of many materiall and usefull matters: he also had the newes of the queen's design to quit the crown, and was one of the first without doors that acquainted Whitelocke with that newes.

Intimation having bin given to Whitelocke, that the compte de Montecuculi, and another italian compte with him, had a great desire to see the fashions of England in

1653. the english ambassador's house, Whitelocke entertained them,
 with Piementelle, who brought them to dinner to him; and
 Feb. 14. they seemed not a little pleased with his musick, and with
 the treatment that Whitelocke gave them, which they termed
 high and noble; and were very respectfull to Whitelocke,
 both before, and especially after it.

This Montecuculi was generall of the horse to the emperor, and one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber; he came hither from the emperor's court to visit the queen; others said he came to sollicite a marryage between the queen and his master's son, the king of the Romans: the queen used him with great civility and testimonies of favour, wherof he is deserving, being a gentleman of much honor, and very ingenious in his discourse, and of a gallant carriage.

They had discourse of all the present transactions and great affayres of Europe; and, amongst the rest, they said, that all the world talked of the queen's designe to abdicate herselfe, to quit the crown and government, and retire to a private life; and Piementelle said, he believed that the mind of the queen was much sett that way. Whitelocke asked if they had heard of any discontent between her and her people, or great men; or what should cause her to take such a resolution, so destructive to her good and power.

They answered, that no prince in the world had the people, great men, and officers in more intire obedience and affection then the queen had all her subjects of every degree (wherof Whitelocke was also an eye-witness), and that it was only her desire of retirement which brought her unto this resolution.

Lagerfeldt

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and was full of the same ^{1653.}
discourse, and said, if the queen should doe it, it would be ^{Feb. 14.}
a cause of great sadness to all her people; that the queen,
about two years since, had proposed this to the senate, of
whom some dissuaded her against it, affirming that she could
not resigne the crown without the consent of those that in-
trusted her, and for whose sake she had undertaken the go-
vernment, and said, that they never would consent to her
abdication: that notwithstanding this, yett now againe she
proposed the same thing to the senate, who were att present
in consultation about this high point, and it was much
debated.

Whitelocke tooke no notice to any, that he had ever heard
of it butt by these discourses, nor discovered to any what
had passed between the queen and him about it.

Two valets de la chambre, pages of the queen's chamber,
came to visit Whitelocke, and to take their leaves of him,
being uppon their departure for France, and from thence to
goe to England; and they came to the ambassador to know
what service he would commaund them thither: and in re-
gard they had bin very civill and officious to Whitelocke,
and had often come to him with messages from the queen;
and being informed that it was the custom of this court to
bestow gratuities uppon such persons, and that would be
made known to the queen, and well taken by her, uppon
these considerations, and to complement the queen in this
smalle buisnes, Whitelocke gave to each of these gentlemen
a diamond ring, of the value of forty ricks dollers a-piece,
as a testimony of his gratitude for the respects and good of-
fices which they had done him in this court, and to the queen
their mistrefs, in whose favour they were; and the gentle-
men most thankfully accepted their present, and extolled the

1653. noblenes of the english ambaffador to their fellow courtiers,
 and to the queen herfelfe, who tooke great notice of it.
 Feb. 14.

15. The fyndick of Gothenbergh made a great complaint to Whitelocke, on behalfe of divers of that citty, interested in a fhip brought by the english capers into Dover; and that the mariners were pillaged and imprifoned, though the fhip and goods and men were all fwedifh. Whitelocke demanded of him what ground he had for this complaint, he faid, he had received letters of it from Gothenbergh, who had received letters of it out of England, written by a mafter of a fwedifh fhip, who informed them of it. Whitelocke asked him, if the mafter of the fhip were not a Hollander; and what goods were in the fhip thus taken? he anfweared, that the mafter was a native of Holland, butt now an inhabitant of Gothenbergh, and a fubject of the queen of Sweden; and that the lading of the fhip was maffs, and pitch, and tarre, for Portugall: and he intreated Whitelocke to write into England in favour of thefe parties, and that juftice might be done for them. Whitelocke defired of him a memoire in writing heerof, and faid, he did not believe that any fuch thing was done in England, who did juftice to all the world; that this might be a matter controverted: yett, if it were as the fyndick informed, he did believe that juftice would be done, and fatisfaction made to the parties interested; and he promifed to write effectually to England for that purpofe.

Whitelocke vifited Grave Gabriel Oxenftierne; and from thence went and vifited the fenator Rosen Haw, who had bin ambaffador extraordinary from this crown to Poland, and alfo to France. He lived in a very hanfome condition, being inabled therunto by the cuftome of this countrey, which is fo favourable to thofe who have hazarded themfelves in

in publique and foreign services, that he, who hath once bin ^{1653.}
 an ambaffador, keeps not only the title and priviledges be- ^{Feb. 15.}
 longing to that quality, butt hath likewise a pension or other
 provision allowed him for his maintenance in that condition
 during his life ; and so Whitelocke was informed, that it was
 with this gentleman they had much discourse concerning
 those places and affaires about which he had bin imployed ;
 and he seemed to be a man of able parts, butt somewhat high
 and negligent in his demeanor.

Then Whitelocke visited the french resident, who (after
 his maner) made large profession of his great respect to the
 common-wealth of England and to my lord protector, which
 was now as much credited by Whitelocke as att other times.

The queen sent the master of the ceremonies to White- ^{16.}
 locke to invite him this evening to a ball att court, which
 was ordained in favour of the compte de Montecuculi. White-
 locke, being ready to intertaine all opportunities of waiting
 on the queen, came to the roome appointed, where two
 seats were placed on the right hand of the chayre of state,
 the first for Whitelocke, and the next for Montecuculi.

By this meanes Whitelocke had the opportunity that the
 queen would discourse with him att this time : she was pleased
 to mention to him the ship brought into Dover, wherof the
 syndick of Gothenbergh complained, and the imprisonment
 of the marriners ; which, the queen said, was no friendly
 dealing.

Whitelocke answered, that he could not believe this re-
 port, butt supposed there was some mistake or misinforma-
 tion in it ; that her subjects seldome came to Dover ; that if
 any of them were brought thither by capers, they would
 have

1653. have justice done them in England: he said also, that he understood some great lords in this kingdome had shares in that ship, and made complaints, as they were informed; that he had heard that the master of that ship was a Hollander, and her lading of contraband goods, wheruppon she might be taken by a caper: butt if it should be made appear that the ship belonged to her majesty's subjects, and had done nothing contrary to the known rules of state of the councell of England, he did not doubt butt that she would be freed; and that this week he would write to the commonwealth in England very effectually about this matter; which the queen desired him to doe, and sayd, that if such things were practised, it would be impossible to agree so well uppon a peace between the two nations. By many of these passages which were blown up by the Dutch, Danes, and French in this court, Whitelocke was putt to many difficulties; butt God brought him over all of them in the conclusion.

Att this balle there was rare musicke, and excellent dauncing by the queen herselfe, and by her ladyes and courtiers; in the latter end wherof, the queen called for Montecuculi to come to her, where she invested him with the order of knighthood of Amaranta, which ceremony was thus performed.

The compte, kneeling down before the queen, held up his hands between the queen's hands: she declared his duety in that order, to maintaine and defend virtue, and the honor of virtuous ladyes, to indeavour to correct vice, to performe honorable actions, to keep his faith inviolable, with divers the like matters relating to honor and virtuous performances; which the compte promised to observe.

Then

Then the queen putt uppon his right shoulder, and tyed ^{1653.}
 under his left arme, a scarfe of crimfon taffata, with a ^{Feb. 16.}
 broade silver fringe; and the jewell of the order hunge in
 the scarfe, which was about the compasse of halfe a crown:
 it was made of gould, a rownd wreath wrought and enam-
 melled like to lawrell, and in the midst therof two great
 A A thus reversed **W**, sett thicke with diamonds, the two
 A A for the first and last letters of Amaranta; and about the
 wreathe was written in Italian, *dulchi nella memoria, sweet*
is the memory, that is, of a certain noble and famous great
lady named Amaranta, who was an eminent pattern and
example of the highest honor and virtue, in memory of
whom this order was instituted.

The queen herselfe is soveraigne of the order; the com-
 panions of it made by her were the prince Palatin, and his
 brother prince Adolphe, the king of Poland, the duke of
 Brandenburg, the Landtsgrave of Hesse, the Spanish re-
 sident, the compte de Montecuculi, and divers other great
 lords; and afterwards, Whitelocke was honored also by the
 queen to be made a knight of this order.

Her majesty weares the jewell of the order under her left
 breast, tyed with crimfon ribon; and the knights weare it in
 a crimfon scarfe or ribon, and sometimes in a chayne of
 gold, as they themselves please.

Thurloe's letters to Whitelocke this post contained the ^{17.}
 probability of an agreement with the Dutch, the gallant
 english fleet already on the sea, the beating of the Scots and
 Highlanders, the approbation and generall fatisfaction by
 the late change in England, and the application of all forein
 ministers to the protector, and congratulating of him; only
 Bonele had omitted it.

1653. He sent him also the french and spanish newes, and a full
 Feb. 17. and perfect history of that time; inclosed coppies of the
 letters of the dutch resident from hence to his superiors,
 which, by money, Thurloe procured: and in them was some
 reflection upon Whitelocke, which, in his answer to
 Thurloe's letters, he thus vindicated.

Beningen is much mistaken in his information to his su-
 periors concerning me; and his expressions are hardly civill.
 I have been wary of my discourse, and said nothing but
 what is trueth, though he is pleased to call it false; and I be-
 lieve (as it is) it hath the reputation of trueth heer. What
 my speech was to the queen, you see by the words of it,
 and that there are no such things as he reports to be found
 there. Many heard me, though I thought not fitt to speake
 in that presence so lowd as men doe in a theater, or att a
 barre of justice; that those heard me to whom it was di-
 rected, appears by the answer to it. All heer say that my
 reception was with more respect then hath bin showed to
 any ambassador before; and many gentlemen were seen
 then on horse-backe, though Beningen reports, not one.

For the discontent of the ricks senators, I confesse my
 neglect of them was purposely done by me, bicause I ob-
 served a neglect in them first towards me in point of cere-
 mony; wherof I judged myselfe bound to take notice, and
 not to lessen the honor of my nation: this, with my refusall
 of healths, might possibly bring me to more disfavour with
 them.

He is likewise mistaken about my sending to the french
 resident, and inquiry of the Denmarke ambassador, as he
 useth to be. It is true that there have bin some passages of
 ceremony, which I thought my duety to insist uppon, as the
 not

not giving precedence to the ricks admirall heer, and to sitt 1653.
 next the queen, and the like, which are now rectified by ^{Feb. 17.}
 the queen's commaund, who was acquainted heerwith by
 the spanish resident, to whom Whitelocke discoursed it to
 that end: and I may presume, that if I should have fate
 down cheaply in any smalle neglect, greater might perhaps
 have bin putt uppon me, and the honor of my nation have
 suffered in me; and both my buisnes and myselfe have bin
 the lesse regarded.

Whitelocke was not well in health, and very buisy in his
 dispatches to England, yett was interrupted therein by a visit
 by Grave Eric Oxenstierne, president of the councill of
 trade, who came in their name to Whitelocke, to informe
 him of the ship mentioned before to be carryed into Dover;
 and by the queen's commaund, Grave Eric showed White-
 locke the letters from Bonele, and from the masters of three
 swedish ships lately brought into England, two of them by
 private men of war, and the others by a ship of the states;
 that some of the marriners were imprisoned, and very ill
 treated; and that this was in the channell, when they were
 past the way to Holland; that they had certificates (as the
 trueth was) that they were Swedes' ships and goods, and the
 men the queen's subjects; that neverthelesse they were thus
 used, which (he said) gave smalle hopes of that amity be-
 tween the two nations, and the redresse of those injuries
 which was hoped for, uppon Whitelocke's coming hither as
 ambassador.

Whitelocke desired him to suspend his judgement till the
 certainty of the fact, and the proceedings theruppon might
 appeare; that he knew the queen's subjects would receive
 right, and offices of friendship, att the hands of the pro-
 tector; and if any private man of war had injured any of

1653. the Swedes, that justice would be done upon them; and if
 Feb. 17. any ships were taken contrary to right, they would be released: butt if any of the queen's subjects did seek to colour and protect the enemies ships and goods, that would give little hopes of amity, and they might justly suffer for it.

The Grave was very high and passionate in his expressions, which Whitelocke sought to moderate, butt with a vindication of the justice of England.

The conclusion was, to pray Whitelocke to write effectually to England about it; which he did, and desired Thurloe's speciall care therein, being a great trouble to him, that such things should be done to Swedes, whilest he was in Sweden, and therby his buisnes be retarded, and himselfe disabled in their service.

One of the queen's servants brought from the queen to Whitelocke's house, two men and two women of Lapland, such as are before described; and they had with them twenty-five rayne deer, which the queen sent to Whitelocke for a present, and (as he supposed) to the end that he should send them to the protector.

Whitelocke tooke the best care he could for the keeping of these deer; he gave money to the lappes for their pains in bringing them; and, by advice of the queen's servant that came with them, he caused the deer to be driven to a farme not farre from Upsale, and gave money for their keeping, with hay and strawe; butt the deer hardly would eate such meate. Whitelocke desired the queen's servant, who spake the lap language and the french also, to aske the lappes what meate the deer must be fedde with all; they said, with mosse, and with the toppes of firre boughs, and that
 this

this was their food in Lapland all the winter time. Whitelocke caused them to be asked if they would undertake to carry the deer into England, and he would provide a ship for them to goe thither with the deer, and to bring them and their wives back agayne, and would give them fifty ricks dollers a-piece for their voyage. But they all howled, and earnestly said they would not goe: Whitelocke caused many arguments to be used to perswade them to goe; how kindly they should be used, what a brave countrey, and people, and cittyes they should see, and have their charges borne, and returne home rich; butt all would not move them to depart out of their beloved countrey. And when they could not be prevayled with (so great is native love!) Whitelocke contracted with them to take the charge of his deer heer, untill he could send them into England, to which they agreed: butt one night, the deer being altogether in an open hovell, not farre from the side of a great wood, there came out from the wood a herd of many fierce woolves, who, finding out the deer, fell uppon them, and in one night killed fifteen of them: the rest of the deer, not long after, all dyed, as their keepers said, bicause the climate was too hot for them; and so Whitelocke was disappointed of sending his rare present to England, where the deere would hardly have lived, when Sweden was too hot for them.

1653.

Feb. 17.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and they communicated their intelligence: he showed Whitelocke the letter which Beningen had written from hence to his superiors (wherof Whitelocke also had a cobby) and is before remembered. Whitelocke told Piementelle, that the language of Beningen was scarce civill, and very untrue; Piementelle replied, that that was the mode of Holland to have such uncivill expressions, and that Beningen was no gentleman, nor did

18.

1653. know what belonged to matter of honor. Whitelocke said,
Feb. 18. that as Beningen and the resident of France did concenter
together against England and Spayne, so it was prudent for
Piementelle and him to assist one another in order for the
better carrying on of both their affayres; which Piementelle
said was very reasonable, and he would most willingly doe
it, and believed that they two should make a party strong
enough against those gentlemen.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke went to the castle to waite
on the queen; no person was in the antichamber butt Sir
William Ballendin, who, seeing Whitelocke, went in to the
queen (being her servant) and returning, would neither
looke on Whitelocke, nor speake to him, butt said to White-
locke's eldest son standing by, he may goe in to the queen if
he will; the young man made no answear, nor told his father
of it, who (although he imagined what the buisnes was) yett
did forbear to take any notice of it, since Ballendine
thought him unworthy to be spoken to: then Ballendin spake
the same words, as he had done to the son, to one of White-
locke's followers, that knew him not, and therefore told
Whitelocke what was said to him; who theruppon thought
it better to goe to the queen then to make her stay longer
for him, and so followed Ballendin; and Mr. Stapleton,
fearing lest some mischief might be done to Whitelocke in
the passage, went after him, entering into the queen's cham-
ber. Ballendin held up the hanging, and, just as Whitelocke
entered, lett it fall in his face, as he believed, purposely,
wherof the queen taking notice, reproved Ballendin for it;
in whose hearing Whitelocke told the queen, that he believed
that gentleman had no mind to doe him a favour, and asked
the queen's pardon, that he came into her bed-chamber
without being sent for: the queen said, I sent Ballendin;
did not he come and tell you? Whitelocke replied, he did
not

not thinke me worthy to be spoken to, butt told one of my 1653.
 followers that I might come in ; att which the queen seem-
 ed very angry, and said, Ballendin is a fott and a foole. Feb. 18.

Whitelocke gave her majesty thankes for the noble present of rayne deer, which she was pleased to bestow on him, which he told her, he purposed to send to the protector ; butt she answered, that they were not worth the sending.

Whitelocke then told her majesty, that he must take his leave of her and returne for England : she asked him why he spake so ? he replied, that it was the common report, that her majesty had proposed to her councill to quitt the crown, and then what should he doe heer ? They had much discourse together uppon that subject, and the queen seemed resolute in this design ; butt told Whietlocke, that whatsoever she should determine in that point, yett she would dispatch his buisnes, and that therefore he needed not to goe away till that were done, and she hoped it would be to his contentment.

She told Whitelocke that she intended to goe out of town the next weeke to meet the prince of Sweden, and would speake with him about Whitelocke's buisnes. Whitelocke communicated to her his newes of Scotland, of the english fleet att sea, of the dutch treaty, and other newes ; butt stayed not long with her, bicause she was not well.

From the castle, Whitelocke went to Woolfeldt, who discoursed about the queen's resignation, and said, he believed she was strongly inclined to it : Whitelocke objected the uncertainty of her revenue if she resigned, that her successors might not have due care to see it paid ; he said, she would provide for that before hand, and have it in her own power,
 which

1653. which Whitelocke had advised her to. He said, that he be-
 ~~~~~  
 Feb. 18. lieved the revenues of this crown were much lessened, and  
 he doubted whither they would suffice for her intertainment,  
 and for the expences of her successors also: Woolfeldt an-  
 swered, that this was the great objection which troubled the  
 councill to find out a way how the queen might be supplied;  
 and att the same time to defray the charges of the armies,  
 and navy, and of the court, and other publique charges;  
 and that it would require much time before these things were  
 brought to a conclusion.

19. This *Lord's day*, Sir George Fletewood, colonel Hamilton,  
 Mr. Butler, and Mr. Cooper, English and Scotts men, came  
 in the morning to Whitelocke's house to heare the sermon  
 there: and, after dinner, the master of the ceremonies came  
 to informe Whitelocke of the funerall of a swedish gentle-  
 man, named Monsieur Pos, of an antient family, who dyed  
 young, and a batchelor; the solemnity came by White-  
 locke's doore, and was in this order. First came the  
 singing boyes and men of the church, singing requiem  
 as they went; after them came a man on horse-back, the  
 horse richly covered with caparisons imbroidered with  
 gold, with a front piece of iron gilded, the man all  
 armed as a curiasseer, the armor guilt, holding a naked  
 sword in his hand, with the point towards his breast; after  
 him followed two persons in mourning, leading a horse  
 covered to the ground with blacke cloth, and a white crosse  
 in the middle; then came a gentleman bearing the standard,  
 having the armes of the deceased; after him came the corps,  
 covered with blacke cloth, carryed by fixe persons in mourn-  
 ing, and on each side of it eight persons carrying banners,  
 with the armes of the father and mother, and of the grand-  
 father and grand-mother on the father's side, and of their  
 auncestors



aunceftors to the fixt degree, which is allowed att the fune- 1653.  
ralls of every gentleman, and of an earle they allow thirty-  
two. Feb. 19.

After the corps, followed a man leading another horfe covered to the ground; then came the kindred of the gentleman, among whom was the chancellor, and divers others of quality, all on foote, about forty or fifty. After them followed his mother and fifters, and other women of his kindred, all covered with white linnen over their other clothes, every one of them led by a gentleman in mourning; and though the ftreets were very dirty, and their robes very long, and white, yett they did not hold them up, butt were pittifully moyled with the folemnity. After them followed on foot many other women.

They had about twelve coaches, one of the queen's, and another of the gentleman's mother, with fix horfes, and many fleddes: they were all to retorne att night to the mother of the deceafed, who was to feaft all the company att fupper, after the cuftome of this countrey, who are extremely ceremonious, and very expenfive in matters of this nature; esteeming it a neceffary duety, with the greateft folemnity that the quality of the dead perfon will beare, to interre his corps, and to make great feafting and banquetting to thofe who accompany the buryall; and that fometimes for a whole weeke together.

The queen having done Whitelocke the honor to be his 20.  
valentine, and to give him leave to weare her name in his hatt, he (according to the english cuftome of presenting their valentines) fent unto the queen a very large looking glaffe, which he brought hither with him, and was much greater then any he faw heer; and the queen accepted it,  
much



1653. much praying the english custome, and thanking Whitelocke for his noble present.  
Feb. 20.

Whitelocke visited Grave Eric Oxenstierne, who discoursed with him concerning Ballendin, and excused his carriage; and that the falling of the tapisstry was by accident, and not done of purpose, and he intreated Whitelocke to excuse it.

Whitelocke said, that Ballendin's former carriage showed that he lett fall the tapisstry of purpose to affront him; butt they past it over, and Whitelocke communicated to the Grave part of a letter which he had received from his brother Willson; that he had bin with the judges of the admiralty, whom he found very ready to dispatch those affayres which concerned the Swedes: and he now being entered into the discourse of the swedish ships taken prize by the English, Grave Eric changed his language from french to latin, highly aggravating that fact; and that it seemed strange to the Swedes, that so much injury should be done to them by their friends, and especially while their ambassador was heer; and that this would be a great hinderance to the amity to be made between the two nations.

Whitelocke answered him as formerly, desiring him not to give judgement against England till he knew the fact, and wheresoever the wrong was, he hoped right would be done; and told him, that the last week he had written to England about this buisnes, and doubted not butt that just satisfaction would be given heerin: and Whitelocke, being a little more high then ordinary, kept this Grave in the better temper, who said, that Whitelocke had done very well in writing thus to England. Whitelocke said, he did it the rather bicause he believed, that his excellence, and others  
of



of his good friends in this court, were perticularly concern-  
ed touching these prizes ; att the which Grave Eric seemed  
to smile, butt made no answere.

1653.

Feb. 20.

This was too true, and occasioned much the more trouble  
to Whitelocke in the matter of prizes, and of swedish ships  
and goods, taken by the english during the dutch war ;  
butt, through mercy, he weathered this point also, and  
gott off from this and severall other rockes.

Then they fell into discourse touching the trade into the  
northerne parts ; some of which discourse followes.

*Er.* It would be of great advantage to both nations, if a  
staple of the english commodities were erected, one att Go-  
thenbergh, and another att Narva, wherby the English  
might injoy, not only the commodities of Sweden, butt  
likewise of Muscovia ; the cittyes of Narva and Revel being  
so conveniently seated, that the commodities of Muscovia  
might very easily be brought thither.

*Wh.* The frozen sea is now a great hinderance to the  
trade of Muscovia ; butt, this way, that inconvenience will  
be much remedied, and the commodities of other coun-  
tryes, adjoyning to Muscovia, may be brought in likewise.

*Er.* Muscovia, on the one side, is bounded with the fro-  
zen sea, on the other side with Persia, Tartana, and Polo-  
nia, and towards the Baltick sea, with Ingria and Livonia ;  
the commodities of all which countryes may be brought into  
the staples.



1653. *Wh.* What distance are the cittyes of Narva and Revel  
 ~~~~~ one from the other? and which of them is the more conve-  
 Feb. 20. nient haven?

Er. Revel is in Ingria, and Narva is in Livonia; Narva, for two or three moneths in the year, cannot be frequented by reason of the ice; butt is much the more commodious to receive the wares of Russia, as well by land as by water, and, in the winter time, it is the more convenient to transport commodities thither by sledges. Revel is thirty miles distant from Narva, and the merchants may applye to this port att any time of the yeare, without any hinderance by the ice.

Wh. Why then is not that, without comparifon, the better place for a staple?

Er. Bicaufe the commodities are not so easily, or so cheape brought thither as to Narva. How is the correspondence, att this time, betwixt your common-wealth and the Great Duke?

Wh. It is not now uppon so good termes as formerly; therin the Hollanders have supplanted us, as is usuall with them when their profit is concerned: and we have found the Great Duke to be offended with the English, by reason of the proceedings of our common-wealth against the late king.

Er. That is very probable to be so; and the Muscoviters are such a sort of men, that what seems reasonable to all other people of Europe, seems contrary to them.

Wh.

Wh. You were a neighbor to them many years, when you were governor of Revel, and therefore know their condition the better. 1653.
Feb. 20.

Er. I was many years governor of that citty and of all Ingria, and therby had frequent conversation with them, and took notice of their conditions; butt I hope I have not practised any of them.

Wh. I presume that as you have seen their manners, so you have disdained them. I have heard that the payments and tolles in these countryes are greater then elsewhere, which is to the prejudice of your trade, and discouragement of a staple there.

Er. They are somewhat high there, butt are now lower then they have bin formerly; wherby we find, nevertheless, that the queen's treasury is increased.

Much other discourse they had on this subject, wherby the Grave manifested his abilities and experience in these matters.

Notice was given to Whitelocke by his friends from England, of severall designes against his life, and undertakings by some to assassinate him: a Scottsman, who came in one of Whitelocke's ships the sea voyage, and travayled in his company most part of the land journey, did in a manner confesse himselfe to be one of the number ingaged to murder him; butt this man ranne away before he could be apprehended.

21.

The ennemies of the common-wealth in this place made divers assaults and attempts uppon Whitelocke's servants;

1653. when any of them were abroad late, or few in company,
 Feb. 21. many rencounters and skirmishes were between them; and
 alwayes his people defendants, and the assaylants wounded
 and ashamed.

This night (as frequently before) a great number of
 people, some drunke, and others ennemies, joyned togi-
 ther, came to Whitelocke's doore with naked swords in their
 hands, making a lowd noyse, and crying, Come out ye
 english dogges, ye king-killers, base roages, and the like
 complements.

Wheruppon one of Whitelocke's servants, that was uppon
 the guard that night, discharged a pistoll out of the win-
 dow, uppon which they ran away; butt returning agayne
 with the like cryes, attempted to force open the doore, butt
 it was too strong for them: some of Whitelocke's people,
 eager to have a crash with them, would have opened the
 doore and gone out to them; butt Whitelocke would not
 permit it, and ordered them to stand uppon their guard,
 as he putt them in a readines, butt not to goe forth to
 assault the assaylants; yett, if they should breake into the
 house, not to spare any of them in defence of it, and of
 himselfe, who would be in the head of them; and after
 some time and breath spent by these roarers, they parted.

Mr. Ravius informed Whitelocke, that senator Scute,
 publiquely att dinner, spake many unworthy expressions of
 the english nation, and of their present condition; that
 they, pretending to pull down one tyrant, had sett up ano-
 ther; and he believed, that in a short time they would fall
 into confusion, and that a treaty with them would be of no
 advantage to Sweden.

That

That the king's party in Scotland began to be victorious, 1653. and that the king, with the assistance of the french, and other foreign forces, and of his own party (by much the greater) in England, would quickly pull down their new government, and punish the authors of it; and that the english ambassador cared not how long they delayed him heer, bicause he was therby free from the daungers att home. Feb. 21.

Ravius, att the table, answered, that he believed the english ambassador did not intend to stay long heer, and esteemed the buisnes about which he came hither equally as good for Sweden as England; that probably he would hasten his returne home, where he had buisnes enough; and for the present government there, he thought it better and, firmer then it had been in many ages before, being now in a pious, prudent, valiant, fortunate man, to whom the neighbor princes sought for his alliance. Att the end of a long discourse, the senator was not so severe, nor positive against the treaty, as att first, butt said he would give a visit to the ambassador.

This senator had lesse reason then others to speak against England, his father having bin ambassador there, and honored with the order of the garter; butt Whitelocke did not much weigh the discourses, or other opinions of the senators in these matters, in regard the queen had reserved the determination of them to herselfe.

The queen went to Westraas to conferre with the prince 22. about the buisnes of her abdication, and (some thought) also about the present treaty with Whitelocke.

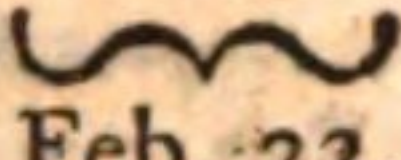
Captain

1653. Captain Croke, Whitelocke's kinsman, and one of his
 Feb. 22. gentlemen, chose for his valentine Mnr. Woolfeldt's lady,
 and sent her a present of english filke stockins and gloves,
 which she tooke so well, that, he going to waite on her as
 his valentine, she treated him with great respect, and gave
 him a ringe sett with a fayre ruby, and fixe little diamonds
 about it, of the value of 80 l. a present fitt for a lady to
 give, who was the daughter and sister of a king.

The secretary Canterstein, and the Custos Archivorum,
 and severall other officers and gentlemen, honored White-
 locke to dine with him, and were pleased with their inter-
 tainment: most of their discourse was matter of learning,
 and perticularly of english authors, as Selden, Milton, the
 viscount of St. Albans, and others, whom they much ad-
 mired and commended; and Whitelocke was not wanting,
 or uncapable, to give a full account of them.

Sir George Fletewood informed Whitelocke, that he had
 spoken with Ballendin about the affront which he putt
 uppon Whitelocke, and told him plainly of it; and that
 Ballendin, with many asseverations, denyed that ever he
 had the least intention to offer any incivility to Whitelocke
 or any of his company, butt was ready to doe them all
 service: that the reason why he did not speake to White-
 locke to goe in to the queen was, bicause he saw him buisy
 with one of his secretaries in the window, and therefore
 would not interrupt him, butt spake to one of his sons;
 and that the hanging fell down by accident, and prayed
 Whitelocke to pardon it.

Fletewood told Whitelocke also, that, being with the chan-
 cellor, he spake of it, and much condemned Ballendin,
 and said, that Whitelocke might undoe him if he should

complain of it to the queen; butt he thought it more ho- 1653.
 norable for Whitelocke to passe it over, and forgive this 
 foolish action, which the chancellor prayed him to doe; Feb. 22.
 and being, Ballendin denyed any intention of doing White-
 locke an affront, and desired his pardon, he thought it best
 to take it for a satisfaction, and told Sir George Fletewood,
 that it being the advice of his father the chancellor, and of
 his son Grave Eric, and of him, to any of whom he could
 not deny a farre greater matter, he did freely passe by this
 carryage of Ballendine, and did forget it; which being
 told Ballendin, he seemed very glad of it, by healthing to
 the ambassador.

Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who told him, that the
 queen persisted in her purpose of abdication.

Intelligence was given to Whitelocke, that the resident 23.
 of the duke of Brandenburg had written from London to
 a correspondent of his in this place, that the agent of the
 Switzes was dismissed by the protector with more honor att
 his departure, then was afforded to Mnr. Lagerfeldt att
 his returne from England; and these things were heer spread
 abroad purposely to disturbe Whitelocke's negotiation;
 butt he thought best to take little notice of them.

Many of Whitelocke's company had observed strange ap-
 pearances in the skye, exceeding brightnes in the night,
 mingled with various colours, chiefly redde, and swiftly
 passing from one part of the heavens to another, and one
 colour, as it were, opposing and incountring the other.

This evening, with his company, Whitelocke himselfe,
 about nine a'clocke, saw the skye extended in a thick black-
 ness, and yett transparent in most places; so that the starres
 appeared

1653. appeared there more cleer and large then in that part of the
 Feb. 23. skye which was white: there was no wind stirring, and the
 heavens seemed calme and settled; when, on a suddain,
 there were motions towards the north-east, and towards the
 north, with great lightnings, and fearfull thunder clappes
 through fogges directing towards the north starre, which
 appeared extraordinary fayre through a blacke clowde.

The flashes of lightening and clowdes came swiftly one
 against another, as it were in charging, and made breaches
 where they went, and divided themselves as into bodyes of
 pikes and musketiers: then the sky appeared sometime all
 of bloud colour, afterwards green, yellow, and grey, then
 all blacke, and as it were a new battaile from the north to
 the south, and the contrary, in a strange manner, and to
 the amazement of the beholders, who gave their censures
 and prædictions of it, according to their severall fancyes.

No letters from England came this week by the post,
 which Mr. Bradeshaw, resident att Hambourgh, certefyed
 to Earle, Whitelocke's secretary.

24. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the chancellor to
 appoint a meeting; butt Whitelocke would not have it att
 his house, bicause the chancellor had bin there often, butt
 he went to the chancellor's lodging, where they were two
 howers together in generall discourses of severall natures.

The chancellor spake much of the buisnes of Scotland,
 and of the daunger therby to England; wherein he had
 taken many things uppon trust, and which were greatly
 mistaken: butt Whitelocke informed him the trueth of that
 buisnes, and showed him his letters of it; which gave him
 satisfaction, that his intelligence was mistaken.

He

He desired to know the heads of the treaty with Holland, 1653. and how farre they were agreed uppon, and showed White-
locke a printed copy of them from Holland; most wherof ^{Feb. 24.} was right, butt in some perticulars mistaken, which White-
locke rectified.

They had a little discourse about the queen's abdication, and he seemed troubled att it: Whitelocke told him, that he had a purpose himselfe of retirement before he came out of England; the chancellor said, he liked it not in White-
locke, and much lesse in the queen.

When Whitelocke mentioned the buisnes of his treaty, the chancellor would not come to perticulars theruppon, butt still putt it off, and fell uppon some other discourse; being desirous to know the issue of the treaty between England and Holland, before any further proceedings in the treaty heer.

The chancellor inquired (having bin told of it before) what discourse Whitelocke had with the archbishop of Upsale; Whitelocke told him of their discourse touching the Lord's day, and of the miserable prophanation of it heer: the chancellor said, that it was proper discourse with the archbishop, and that he did agree to Whitelocke's opinion heerin; and hoped that it would be brought to passe in time, that there should be a reformation of that abuse.

Whitelocke then told the chancellor the discourse between the archbishop and him, about the bestowing of ecclesiasticall promotions; and that the archbishop wondred, when Whitelocke told him, that he, as a keeper of the great seale, or chancellor of England, and his colleagues, although lay-men, yett, in right of the common-wealth, as

1653. patrons of the ecclesiasticall benefices, did conferre many
 of them uppon such clerkes as they judged fitt and able
 Feb. 24. for the worke of the ministry; and that no other had a
 power of examining the fittnes of the persons thus presented
 by them, or of contradicting those presentations, though
 none of his colleagues, nor himsele, were, as they terme
 it, in holy orders.

This, the chancellor said, was a point wherein he was
 concerned, and had a question with the archbishop about
 it, in the right of his being chancellor; and he sayd, he was
 glad that Whitelocke had this discourse with the archbishop,
 and hoped that it would be to the chancellor's advantage.

25. Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and told him, that he
 had received letters from Don Alonso de Cardenas, ambas-
 sador for the king of Spayne in England, whereby he de-
 sired Piementelle to testify all respect from him to White-
 locke, and to offer him his service, with many other com-
 plements; for which Whitelocke intreated him to make re-
 turne of his thanks and service.

He also acquainted Whitelocke, that the king of Spayne,
 his master, had commaunded his returne home, and that
 his intention was to depart from hence as soon as he could
 conveniently; and he hoped to take his leave within a few
 weekes, if he could possibly. Whitelocke told him, he
 should be very sorry to loose his good company; butt glad
 for the satisfaction of Piementelle's desires: they communi-
 cated newes to one another, and so parted.

26. Piementelle sent to Whitelocke, by his secretary, the
 copy of a letter which the queen wrote to Chanut, now
 ambassador from the king of France, and formerly ambassa-
 dor

dor to this queen: it was in answear of a letter, which 1653.
 Chanut had written to the queen, to dissuade her from her Feb. 26.
 purpose of abdication.

The english of the whole letter is thus * :

* See ap-
 pendix
 H.

“ I have formerly given you an account of the reasons
 “ which oblige me to persevere in the designe of my abdi-
 “ cation; you know that this fancy hath continued with
 “ me a long time, and that it hath not bin without confi-
 “ deration: eight years since I resolved to putt it in exe-
 “ cution; it is, att least, five years since I communicated
 “ unto you this resolution; in so long a time all the inci-
 “ dents have not caused me to change. I have ordered all
 “ my actions to this end, and have so conducted them,
 “ without weighing, to this hower, more then my readi-
 “ nes to finish my act, and to retire behind the stage, and
 “ trouble not myselfe about the plaudite. I know that
 “ the scene, which I have represented, is not according to
 “ the common lawes of the theater. I permit every one to
 “ judge according to his genius; I cannot take away this
 “ liberty, and would not if it were in my power. I know
 “ there are few that judge favourably; I assure myselfe
 “ that you are of that number: other men know not my
 “ reasons and humor, since I never declared this to any
 “ person butt yourselfe and one more, who hath a soul
 “ great and fayre enough to judge therof, as you have.
 “ Satis est unus, fatis est nullus; I mocke att the rest, and
 “ shall doe the honor to him of the troupe, whom I shall
 “ esteem sufficiently ridiculous to divert me, and never
 “ take the paines to make my apology to them; and in the
 “ great leisure which I prepare for myselfe, I shall never
 “ be idle enough to remember them. I shall imploy that
 “ leisure to examine my past life, to correct my errors,
 M m m 2 . “ without

1653. " without repenting the pleasure I have taken in doing
 Feb. 26. " good to men, and to have punished those that deserved
 " it. I shall have the comfort, that I never made any cri-
 " minous that were not so, nor spared any that were so.
 " I have preferred the conservation of the state before all
 " other considerations, and have sacrificed all with joy to
 " the interest therof: and have nothing to reproach me in
 " that administration, which I possess without pride, and
 " quit with facility. Feare not for me; I am in safety, and
 " my good is not in the power of fortune: I shall be happy
 " whatsoever may fall out; only God hath power over
 " me, not men, nor never shall. I apprehend, that this
 " Providence wherof you speake, omnia sunt propitia, will
 " take the care to order my affayres; I submit myselfe with
 " that respect and resignation as I ought to her will: if it
 " leave the conduct of my affayres to myselfe, I shall im-
 " ploy what she gives me of faculties in my soul, and un-
 " derstanding, to render myselfe happy; and I shall be so,
 " as far as I shall be perswaded, that I ought to feare no-
 " thing either from men, or from God. I shall imploy the
 " rest of my life to familiarize these thoughts, and from the
 " harbour to behold the stormes of those who are tossed
 " in this life with the tempests, which they heere suffer, for
 " want of applying their minds to these thoughts. Am I
 " not worthy of envy in my present estate? doubtless, I
 " should have too many envying me if my happynes were
 " knowne. You have affection enough for me not to envy
 " me; and I deserve it, since I ingeniously confesse, that
 " I had some of these thoughts from you, and learnt them
 " in your conversation, and hope one day to improve them
 " in my leisure with you: I assure myselfe you cannot
 " breake your word, and that you will not cease to be my
 " friend in this change, since I quit nothing which is
 " worthy your esteeme; in what condition soever I shall
 " be,

“ be, I shall conserve my friendship to you, and you will
 “ see, that no change can happen which can alter my
 “ thoughts, wherof I glory. You know all this, and doubt-
 “ les you believe, that the greatest assurance I can give
 “ you of myselfe, is to tell you that I shall ever be

1653.

Feb. 26.

“ CHRISTINE.”

The queen returned from Westraas, where she met the prince, and conferred with him.

Whitelocke waited on the queen to bid her wellcome in her returne from Westraas ; she spake nothing of her abdication to Whitelocke, nor did he think fitt to mention it to her : they had much discourse touching the treaty, and she againe promised, that it should be expedited in a short time after the certainty should be known of the conclusion of the dutch treaty ; which, she said, some did report that it was agreed, and others, that it was broken of, butt that she would believe no intelligence butt Whitelocke's.

27.

She inquired of him touching the buisnes of the highlanders in Scotland, and of the defeate which was reported they had given the English ; and asked Whitelocke, if he had not heard of it ? he said, nothing was mentioned of it in his letters ; and that there was the lesse reason to believe it, bicause it was reported, that the Highlanders had pursued the English as farre as the town of Newcastle, which is above 100 miles from them, into England.

The queen told Whitelocke, that she had understood, that the king of Scotts was come to Breda, or neer therabouts, to some place in the united provinces to receive
 assistance

1653. assistance from them, and to be in a readines uppon the
Feb. 27. coast to transport himselfe for England or Scotland, as his
affayres should require ; and that he would soon be landed
on our side, when he should see a fitt opportunity for it.

Whitelocke said, that the english fleet would be ready to attend uppon him in his voyage, and some good fellowes would be ready to intertaine him, and his company, att their landing. Of this intelligence Whitelocke thought fitt to give notice to the councell in England.

Att this conference, the queen discoursed with Whitelocke concerning Spayne, and said, she thought it would be of great advantage, both to Sweden and England, to have an alliance together with Spayne ; and she asked Whitelocke, if he would treat about it.

He answered, that he had no commission concerning a treaty about Spayne ; and that he had heard out of England, that the spanish ambassador there had begun a treaty of alliance with England, and that the protector had appointed some commissioners to treat with him uppon that subject.

The queen replied, that it would be good to have all the three nations comprehended in one treaty of alliance, which would be to the mutuall advantage of them all ; and that she would send an ambassador into England, by whom it might be effected.

Whitelocke said, he was of the same opinion as to the mutuall advantage of the three nations by such a treaty, in regard of the addition of strength, and increase of trade, which thereby would come to all of them ; and that he believed,

lieved, the generous disposition of those three nations had much of affinity to one another, which would make such a treaty of the greater force, and more durable. 1653.
Feb. 27.

The queen said, that was a great argument to rayse those thoughts which she had of it; and desired Whitelocke to further it what he could.

He replied, that he could not yett tell what would be the issue of the treaty already begun in England with the spanish ambassador, and that he apprehended, it would be best first to conclude the treaty heer between England and Sweden; and, afterwards, if both these nations did see it fitt, the Spanyard might be taken in as there should be cause, wherunto the conclusion of the treaty heer would be a furtherance.

The queen said, that was true; and desired Whitelocke to acquaint the protector with her opinion heerin, which he promised her majesty to doe.

Then the queen discoursed with Whitelocke about the english plantations and territories in America, of which he gave her majesty a full account, as to the Caribee islands, Virginia, New-England, Maryland, and that of his brother-in-law, the lord Willoughby, in Surinam, wherof they had much discourse; and the queen seemed to wonder, that the English should have so many and so large territories in those remote parts of the world. Whitelocke told her the occasions and successes of those discoveries and plantations, and, with them, mentioned the trade of the English in Guinee, for gould, and the forts which they had made and kept there.

Then

1653. Then the queen told Whitelocke, under secrecy, that
Feb. 27. some of her people had a footing in Guinee, and that she
had a purpose of buying in a priviledge, which she had
graunted to some of her subjects concerning trade to Guinee,
which would be very beneficiall; and that if any in England
would buy her right there, she would be willing to part
with it.

Whitelocke offered, that, if her majesty pleased, he would
write to the Guinee company of marchants, and to others
in London, about this matter, and give her an answear
therunto; which she desired him to doe, and said, that, if
any would deale for it, they should have a good bar-
gaine.

Whitelocke then told the queen (as seasonable uppon
this occasion) the buisnes which he had in charge, concern-
ing the Guinee company in London, and of an injury
which her majesty's subjects had done to the English in
Guinee; wherin (he said) he presumed that her majesty
would cause right and justice to be done.

The queen answered, that was very fitt, and that she
could wish, England would take care to hinder the king of
Denmarke from the trade of that place; for which, she was
informed, that he was now preparing ships to be sent thi-
ther, and would indeavour therby the distruction of the
interest both of the Swedes and English in that place: she
desired Whitelocke to give notice therof to the protector,
and to those perticular persons who were concerned in the
trade of Guinee, that some course might be taken to pre-
vent the prejudice which therby would arise to that plan-
tation; and heerin Whitelocke gave notice accordingly.

The

The master of the ceremonies, and severall other persons ^{1653.}
of quality, doing Whitelocke the honor to dine with him, ^{Feb. 28.}
they had much discourse of the queen's abdication, the ge-
nerall argument of that time, and of her majesty's journey
to Westraas to meet the prince; about which they informed
Whitelocke, that the prince did acquiesce in the queen's
propofalls touching her resignation, and had remitted the
conclusion of the whole matter to an assembly of the estates
of this kingdome, who are summoned to meet on the second
of May next; butt it might be doubted, whither they
would consent to the propofalls: if they did not consent,
then it could not be effected; butt if they did consent, then
it would be butt short; and that all the great officers, the
nobility, and the principall men of the kingdome, had
taken an oath of fidelity to the prince, as prince of Sweden,
att the coronation of the queen. And they said, they be-
lieved, that if the queen should presse it, the estates would
obey her; and they observed, that the prince did not re-
turne from Westraas to the isle of Uland, which is a great
distance from hence, and where he formerly resided, butt
went to a house of his own neer this place, that he might
not be farre off, during the assembly of estates, and transac-
tion of this buisnes.

VOL. I. N n n MARCH,

MARCH.

1653.
March 1.

NOW was the heate of Whitelocke's buisnes, and many crosse indeavors used to render all his labours fruitles, and to bring his treaty to no effect. Butt it pleased God (in whome his confidence was placed) to carry him through all his difficulties, and to give his blessing and succeffe to this negotiation.

Whitelocke gave a visit to the comte de Montecuculi, to give him the wellcome home from his journey with the queen; who said he had commaunds to kisse the hand of the prince of Sweden, and took the opportunity of accompanying her majesty when she went to meet the prince. He communicated nothing of the buisnes to Whitelocke, nor did he thinke to inquire it of him.

After Whitelocke returned home, the resident of France and Woolfeldt mett att his house to visit him, and stayed with him three howers: they had much discourse of France, and of the duke of Lorrein, and of the policy of the Spanyard in intertaining that duke in his service; by means wherof the countrey, where the duke's soldiers were quartered, were better satisfied then with the spanish forces; so that there was no taxe levyed for them, only they tooke free quarter, and sometimes a contribution uppon the receiving of a new officer. And Woolfeldt said, that, wheras all other princes give wages to their officers and soldiers, the duke gives no pay; butt when he makes an officer, the officer pays money to the duke for his commission: and that
he

he knew a captain of horse who gave 1000 crowns for his commission, which the captain afterward rayfed uppon the countrey; and the duke connived att it. 1653.
March 1.

He told how he was imployed to treat with the duke for the transportation of 5000 foot and 3000 horse into Ireland to assist our king; which the Duke undertooke, on condition to have 100,000 crowns in ready money, and ships to transport his men from some haven in France; none of which could be effected.

After Woolfeldt went away, the french resident asked Whitelocke, whither France were comprised in the treaty with Holland? Whitelocke said, he had no information therof; the resident replied, that his master would willingly intertaine a good friendship and correspondence with England: and Whitelocke said, he believed England would be ready to doe the like with France. The resident said, he observed by their discourse that Whitelocke had bin in France, and that the late king would have given him the commaund of a troope of horse in France; and he hoped that Whitelocke would retaine a good opinion of that countrey, and be their friend.

Whitelocke replied, that he was very civilly treated in France, and believed that he should have served the late king there, if, by a suddain accident or misfortune, he had not bin prevented, and obliged to returne for England sooner then he intended; and that he should be alwayes ready (as he held himselfe ingaged) to pay all respects and service to that crown, as farre as might consist with the interest of the common-wealth whom he served.

1653. Notwithstanding his great words against the common-
 wealth and present treaty, yett Monsieur Scute was pleased
 March 2. to afford a visit to Whitelocke, and they fell (amongst many
 other things) uppon the following discourse.

Sc. My father was formerly ambassador from this crown,
 in England, where I was with him, which occasioned my
 desire to be known to you.

Wh. Your father did honor to this countrey, and to ours,
 in that imployment; and your excellence honors me in this
 visit.

Sc. England is the noblest countrey and people that ever
 I saw: a more pleasant, fruitfull, and healthfull countrey,
 and a more gallant, stout, and rich people are not in the
 world.

Wh. I perceive you have taken a true measure, both of
 the countrey and her inhabitants.

Sc. This is my judgement of it, as well as my affection
 to it.

Wh. Your countrey heer is indeed more northerly, butt
 your people, especially the nobility, of a much like honor-
 able condition to ours; which may cause the more wonder
 att her majesty's intention of leaving them, who are so af-
 fectionate to her.

Sc. Truely her majesty's purpose of resignation is strange
 to foreiners, and much more to us, who are her subjects,
 most affectionate to her.

Wh.

Wh. It is reported, that she hath consulted in this buisnes 1653.
with the senators, wherof you are one.

March 2.

Sc. Three senators are deputed to conferre with the prince of Sweden, uppon certain perticulars to be observed in the resignation; and I hope that your excellence will consider the importance of that affayre, and will therefore attend with the more patience the issue therof, being necessary that the advice of the prince be had in it.

Wh. Have the three deputed senators any order to conferre with the prince about my buisnes?

Sc. I believe they have.

Wh. I have bin heer two moneths before the queen mentioned this designe of hers to the councell, and have stayed heer all this time with patience, and shall so continue as my lord protector shall commaund me; and as soon as he requires my returne, I shall obey him.

Sc. The occasion of the delay hitherto was the incertainty of the issue of your dutch treaty: and att this season of the year it was impossible for you to returne, till the passage be open.

Wh. I believe the alliance with England meriteth an acceptance, whither we have peace or war with Holland; and for my returne, it is att the pleasure of the protector.

They had much other discourse; and probably Scute was sent purposely to excuse the delay of the treaty, for which he used many arguments, not necessary to be repeated: and he came also to tast Whitelocke, touching advice to be had with

1653. with the prince about this treaty ; wherunto Whitelocke
 showed no averfeness.
 March 2.

Whitelocke received his packet of two weeks from England. In a letter from his wife he was advertised, that the protector had spoken of his voyage to Sweden, as if Whitelocke had not merited much by it, though he so earnestly perswaded it : and his wife wrote, that she believed one of Whitelocke's family was false to him ; and uppon inquiry, she suspected it to be ——— who gave intelligence to the protector of all Whitelocke's words and actions in Sweden, to his prejudice, and very unbeseeming one of his family. This Whitelocke, comparing with some passages told him by his secretary of the same person, found there was cause enough to suspect him ; yett to have one such among a hundred, he thought no strange thing, nor for the protector to alter his phrase when his turn was served ; and though this gave ground enough of discontent to Whitelocke, yett he thought not fitt to discover it, nor what other friends had writt to him, doubting whither he should be honorably dealt with att his returne home : butt he was more troubled to heare of his wife's sickness, for whose health and his familie's he made his supplication to the great physitian ; and that he might be as well pleased with a private retirement (if God saw it good for him) att his returne home, as the queen seemed to be with her designe of abdication from the heights and gloryes of a crowne.

Part of the letters to Whitelocke were in cypher, being directions to him touching the Sundt : he had full intelligence of all passages of the dutch treaty, and a copy of the articles from Thurloe ; also the newes of Scotland, Ireland, France, and the letters from the dutch resident heer to his superiors in Holland, coppies wherof Thurloe by
 7 money

money had procured. He wrote also of the protector's being feasted by the citty, and a full and large relation of all passages of moment. 1653.
March 2.

The protector himselfe wrote also his letters to Whitelocke under his own hand, which were thus *.

* See appendix I.

For the Lord Ambassadour WHITELOCKE.

“ My Lord,

“ I have a good while since received your letters sent by
 “ the ship that transported you to Gothenbergh, and three
 “ other dispatches since. By that of the 30th of December, and
 “ that of the 4th instant, I have received a perticular account
 “ of what passed att your first audience, and what other pro-
 “ ceedings have bin upon your negotiation; which, so farre
 “ as they have bin communicated to me, I doe well approve
 “ of, as having bin managed by you with care and pru-
 “ dence. You will understand by Mr. Secretary Thurloe
 “ in what condition the treaty with the united provinces
 “ is, in case it shall please God, that a peace be made with
 “ them, which a little time will show; yett I see no reason
 “ to be diverted therby from the former intentions of en-
 “ tring into an alliance with Sweden, nor that there will be
 “ any thing in the league, intended with the low countryes,
 “ repugnant therunto, especially in things wherein you are
 “ already instructed fully: and for the matter of your third
 “ and fourth private instructions, if the queen hath any mind
 “ therto, upon your transmitting perticulars hither, such
 “ consideration will be had therof, as the then constitution
 “ of affayres will leade unto; in the mean time, you may
 “ assure

1653. " assure the queen of the constancy and reality of my in-
 March 2. " tentions to settle a firme alliance with her. I commend
 " you to the goodnes of God.

Whitehall, 3d Feb.
 1653.

" Your loving friend,

" O L I V E R P."

3. Grave John Oxenstierne, eldest son of the chancellor, came to visit Whitelocke, a ricks senator, and had bin ricks scatz-master, or high treasurer; a place next in honor to that of his father. He had bin formerly ambassador from this crown to England; butt bicause he was sent by the chancellor his father, and the other directors of the affayres of Sweden in the queen's minority, which king Charles and his councill tooke not to be from a soveraign prince; and bicause his buisnes touching the prince Elect's settlement, and the affayres of Germany, relating to Sweden, did not please our king; therfore this gentleman was not treated heer with that respect and solemnity, as he challenged to be due to him as an ambassador; which bred a distast in him and his father against the king and councill heer, as neglecting the father, and the good offices which he tendered to king Charles and this nation, by slighting the son and his quality.

The discourse between this Grave and Whitelocke was not long, though uppon severall matters: and he seemed to be sent to excuse the delay of the treaty with Whitelocke, for which he mentioned former reasons, as his father's want of health, multiplicity of buisnes, the expected issue of the dutch treaty, and the like; and the same excuses were agayne repeated by Lagerfeldt, who came to Whitelocke from the chancellor, for the same purpose.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke had occasion to looke into his new credentialls 1653.
and instructions from the protector, which were thus. *

March 3.

* See AppendixK.

“ Oliver lord protector, &c. to the most serene and po-
“ tent prince Christina, &c. health and prosperity.

“ Most serene and potent queen,

“ God (who is the great disposer of all things) having
“ bin pleased in his unsearchable wisdom to make a change
“ in the government of these nations, since the time
“ that the noble B. Whitelocke, constable, &c. went from
“ hence, qualified and commissioned as ambassador extra-
“ ordinary from the parlement of the common-wealth of
“ England unto your majesty, to communicate with you
“ in things tending to the mutuall good and utility of both
“ the nations ; we have thought it necessary uppon this
“ occasion to assure your majesty, that the present change
“ of affayres heer hath made no alteration of the good in-
“ tentions on this side towards your majesty and your domi-
“ nions ; butt that as we hold ourselfe obliged, in the exercise
“ of that power which God and the people have intrusted
“ us with, to indeavor, by all just and honorable means, to
“ hold a good correspondence with our neighbors, so more
“ perticularly with the crown of Sweden, between whom
“ and these nations there hath alwayes bin a firm amity
“ and strict alliance : and, therefore, we have given instruc-
“ tions to the said lord Whitelocke, answerable to such
“ good desires, earnestly requesting your majesty to give
“ unto him favourable audience, as often as he shall desire
“ it, and full beliefe in what he shall propound on the be-
“ halfe of these dominions ; and so we heartily commend
Vol. I. O o o “ your

1653. " your majesty and your affayres to the divine protection.
 March 3. " Given att Whitehall, this 23d of December, Old Stile,
 1653.

" Your good friend,

" OLIVER P."

The following instructions were under the hand and private seale of the protector.

" An instruction for B. Whitelocke, constable, &c. ambassador extraordinary from the common-wealth of England to the queen of Sweden.

" Whereas you were lately sent in the quality of ambassador extraordinary from the parlement of the common-wealth of England unto her majesty the queen of Sweden, for the renewing and contracting an alliance and confederation with that queen and crown, according to the commission and instructions you received from the said parlement and the then councill of state. And whereas, since your departure hence, the then parlement hath bin dissolved, and the government is settled and established in such a way that you will understand by letters from Mr. Thurloe, secretary of the councill, who is directed to give unto you a full accountt herof. Now, lest the worke you are uppon (which is so necessary in itselfe to both the nations, and so sincerely desired on our part) should be interrupted or retarded, by reason of the said change of affayres, and the question that may arise thereupon, concerning the validity of your commission and instructions; I have thought fitt, by advice of the councill, to write unto her majesty new letters credentiall, a copy wherof you will receive heerewith, which letters you
 " are

“ are to present to the queen. And you are also, by virtue 1653.
 “ of these presents, to lett her majesty know, that the al-
 “ teration of the governement heer hath made no change ^{March 3.}
 “ in the good intentions on this side towards her majesty
 “ and her dominions; butt that she shall find the same readines
 “ in me to maintaine and increase all good intelligence and
 “ correspondence with that queen and crown, as in any
 “ the former governors of these nations. And to that end
 “ you are heerby authoris'd to proceed in your present ne-
 “ gotiation, and to indeavor to bring the treaty with her
 “ majesty to a good conclusion, according to the tenor and
 “ effect of the commission, powers, and instructions you
 “ have already received, and which I shall by any further
 “ act ratify and confirme, according as the nature of the
 “ buisnes shall require.

“ Before your lordship deliver these letters credentiall to
 “ the queen, or make any addresses to her, you are to in-
 “ forme yourselfe fully of the reception you are like to have,
 “ and whither her intentions be to come to a treaty of amity
 “ with this state, as the governement is now established;
 “ that no dishonor may befall us, or these dominions, in your
 “ addresses uppon these letters and instructions. Given att
 “ Whitehall this 23d of December, 1653.

“ O L I V E R P.”

Whitelocke made many dispatches this day to England.

Whitelocke waited on the queen, and showed her part of
 the letters which he received from England, wheruppon she
 againe asked him if the protector were sacrée? Whitelocke
 said, No, and that his letters mentioned only a solemnity of
 intertaining the protector by the citty of London. White-

4.

1653. locke also communicated to her majesty the protector's letter
March 4. to him, and the expression that Whitelocke should assure her
majesty of the protector's constant and reall intentions to
settle a firm alliance with the queen; which, she said, she was
also most ready to make with the protector.

Whitelocke then said, it might be fitt to make some progress in his treaty uppon his articles, and peticularly in those which concerned amity and commerce, and had no dependance on the issue of the treaty with Holland; and therefore might be had in consideration before the other were fully concluded, and the rest of the articles might be considered afterwards; which the queen said should be done, and that she would send an ambassador to the protector. She was very inquisitive concerning London, and our universityes: by her discourse gave him to imagine she had thoughts of travayling into France, Spayne, Italy, and into England; and asked Whitelocke, if he thought the protector would give way to her coming thither? Whitelocke answered, that the protector would bid her majesty very wellcome thither.

He was alone with her neer two howers, and att his taking leave, she desired him to come to her agayne on Monday next, and that then she would reade over with him his articles, both in latin and english, which they would consider together; and such things as she could consent unto, she would tell him, and what she could not consent unto, he should then know from her, and they might marke it in the margent as they went alonge: yett, she said, she would have him to proceed in his conference with her chancellor as before, and that no body should know of that conference between her and Whitelocke; butt she would so order the buisnes, that what they consented unto should be effected

effected afterwards, and that in two howers they might goe 1653.
over all the articles.

March 4.

Whitelocke told her majesty, he presumed that she would admit of a free debate uppon any of them: she said, by all means, that was reasonable; and in case the peace between England and Holland did not take effect, that then the ambassador, whom she intended howsoever to send into England, might conclude uppon such other articles as should be thought fitt. Whitelocke asked her, if she had any thoughts of being included in the dutch treaty? she said, No, for she had not medled with the war, and therefore desired not to be included in the peace with them.

From the queen, Whitelocke went and visited Piementelle, who showed him a letter he received from a great person in Flanders, mentioning, that Beningen had written to his superiors, that the english ambassador and the spanish resident were often together, and had showed great respect to each other, which his highness the arch duke liked very well, and gave Piementelle thanks for it; and though Monsieur Beningen did not like of their being so friendly, yett his superiors indeavoured all they could to have amity with England. When Whitelocke told him of the english fleet att sea, he said it was great pitty the same was not employed. He then showed Whitelocke a letter from Beningen to his superiors, wherein he taxed Whitelocke with omitting the ceremony of meeting prince Adolphe att his doore: Whitelocke repeated to Piementelle the carriage of that buisnes as before; and Piementelle said, that neither the queen nor himselfe had ever heard the prince expresse any dislike of Whitelocke's carriage; and that the queen seeing Beningen's letter, said, there were many things in it concerning Whitelocke, which, uppon her knowledge, were not true. It was

1653. was also said in the letter, that the english ambaffador had many long audiences with her majesty, and conferences with the chancellor, butt that he could not in the least learne what passed between them; with which Whitelocke had no cause to be displeased.

March 4.

5. The *Lord's day*. Whitelocke had two good sermons in his house, att which divers English and Scotts, besides those of his family, were present.

In the evening the queen past through the streets in her coach, with divers other coaches, and her servants waiting on her, to take the aier, though uppon this day; and in the night, many disorderly drunkards were committing debaucheries and insolencies in the town, and att Whitelocke's doore.

6. Whitelocke visited senator Scute, who spake in excuse of the delay of his buisnes: Whitelocke said,

Wh. I have already staid long in this place, and nothing is yet done in my buisnes.

Sc. Your stay heer hath bin of more advantage to England, then if they had sent 10,000 men into Holland; who, by your stay heer, will be brought on with the greater desire of making peace with you.

Wh. They know nothing of my negotiation.

Sc. That makes them the more jealous; the slowness of one person is the cause that hitherto you have received no satisfaction; and I doubt not butt ere long you will have answers to your contentment.

Whilest

Whilest Whitelocke was with him, the queen sent one of her gentlemen thither to him, to desire him to putt off his visit of her majesty till the next day, by reason she had then extraordinary buisnes: and the messenger being gone, Scute said,

1653.
March 6.

Sc. The queen is buisy in dispatching three senators to the prince, Grave Eric Oxenstierne, Monsieur Fleming, and Monsieur Vanderlin, who are deputed for the buisnes of the queen's resignation; and I, in a few dayes, shall be sent to the prince.

Wh. I pray doe me the favour to present my service to his royall highness, whom I am very desirous to salute as soon as I can gayne an opportunity; and doe hope that his resort to this place will be before I shall be necessitated to returne, that I may give myfelfe the honor to kisse his hand.

Whitelocke visited the ricks dreight-set Grave Brahe, who is of the noble family of Tycho Brahe. He was president of the colledge of justice, and the first minister of state of the kingdome: the name of his office is as much as Vice Roy, and his jurisdiction is a soveraigne court for the administration of justice; and he hath power both civill and military. The office is in effect the same with that antient officer with us, called the chiefe justice of England.

The habit of this chiefe justice of Sweden was a coate, and a furred cap of black, a sword and belt, and no cloake; two soldiers centry att his chamber doore, which Whitelocke had not observed elsewhere, butt att the court. They had much discourse of Whitelocke's buisnes, wherein he testified affections to the common-wealth of England, though Whitelocke had bin informed that he was not their friend; butt

1653. butt he the rather chose to visit him first, and found him
 March 6. very civill: he spake latin very readily, and no french, al-
 though Whitelocke was told he could speake it well.

He inquired much of the common-wealth and affayres of England, and governement of it, and seemed well pleased by Whitelocke's relation of it.

He informed Whitelocke of the swedish governement, and perticularly of his own office: he discoursed much of the prince of Sweden, which Whitelocke judged the fitter for him to approve, bicause prince Adolphe's lady was this Grave's daughter. He told Whitelocke that he had bin governor of Finland ten years together, which province he affirmed to be greater then France, and that the queen's dominions were larger then France, Spayne, Italy, all together.

Whitelocke asked him, if those countryes were well peopled, and flourished with corne, and good townes? he answered, that Finland was well peopled, and had store of corne, and good towns; butt that it was not so with Lapland, and other countryes further off: butt he said, that no part of Sweden had such towns as were in England, where he had bin when he was a young man, which countrey he much praysed; and Whitelocke had no cause to gaynsay it.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke an Atlas, in four great volumes, in acknowledgement of a vessell of spanish wine, which Whitelocke had before sent to him for a present.

7. The governor of Upsale, Monsieur Banniere, presented to Whitelocke three latin bookes; 1. The Story of Sweden;
 2. Of

2. Of the lawes of Sweden ; 3. Of sea affayres ; which were not ordinary to be had. 1653.

March 7.

The queen sent one of her servants to invite Whitelocke to take the aier with her in the fields ; and being come to the castle, she excused her not being yett ready to conferre with him uppon his articles, as she had promised ; butt told him, that she had ordered somthing to be written down on that subject to shew to him.

She took him into her coach, where was the belle comtesse, the comtesse Gabriel Oxenstierne, prince Adolphe, Piementelle, Montecuculi, Tot, and Whitelocke : the queen was very merry, and they were full of chearfull discourse.

Being returned to the castle att night, she desired to heare Whitelocke's musick, whom he sent for to the castle ; and they played and sang in her presence, wherwith she seemed much pleased, and desired Whitelocke to thanke them in her name : she said she never heard so good a consort of musicke, and of english songs ; and desired Whitelocke, at his returne to England, to procure her some to play on those instruments which would be most agreeable to her.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke in the court, and told him, that the chancellor intended to have had a meeting with him this day, butt was hindered by falling sick of a ague ; butt in case his health would not permitt him to meet, that then his son Eric Oxenstierne, by the queen's appointment, would meet and conferre with Whitelocke about the treaty, in place of his father : butt Whitelocke was not gladd of this deputation, wishing much rather to conferre with the old man uppon this subject, who was good-natured, civill, and affectionate to Whitelocke, then with the son Grave Eric,

1653. who was of a more rugged and self-conceited humor, and
 March 7. not so soon gained by reason and convinced by arguments,
 as the good old man his father used to be.

8. Grave Eric Oxenstierne visited Whitelocke, and spake much to excuse the delay of his treaty; and said, that his father was very sick of a ague, and he believed the queen would depute some other to conferre with him, in case his father's health would not permit him that liberty.

Wh. I am very sorry for the indisposition of our father, and for the delay of my buisnes: I have bin heer about three moneths, and nothing is yett concluded.

Er. The incertainty of your dutch affayre, and the queen's desire to know the issue of it, hath occasioned this delay.

Wh. As the points of amity and commerce, they concerne not our dutch treaty.

Er. You will be sure to receive all satisfaction and contentment on that subject; butt there are many perticulars of the commerce to be considered.

Wh. I cannot say much uppon those perticulars; butt I was sent hither by my lord protector to testify his respect to the queen and kingdome of Sweden, and to offer to them the amity of England, which, I suppose, that wise and experienced persons as you are will accept of; and for commerce, my propofalls are generall.

Er. I

Er. I confesse the perticulars therof may more conveniently be treated on by marchants ; and we doe not so much desire a confœderation with any nation as with England.

1653.

March 8.

It was supposed by Whitelocke, that, by the deferring of his buisnes heer, the Hollanders would be in the more suspense and doubt of the issue of it, and might thereby come on the more freely in their treaty with England ; whereas, if the issue of his buisnes heer were known, it might perhaps seem lesse to them then it was now suspected to be, uppon this ground, though he spake of the delay : yett he did not so much presse for a positive answer, butt that he imagined the dutch treaty might be brought to an issue ; he intended to putt on his buisnes heer, and the default hitherto rested on their part, as was acknowledged by their own excuses.

Whilest Eric was with Whitelocke, the ricks dreight-set came in ; and, after Grave Eric was gone, the dreight-set discoursed much concerning the protector and his family, his extraction and pedigree, his former quality and condition, and his present state and manner of living : to which Whitelocke answered truly, and with honor to the protector ; and as to his present post, attendants, and ceremonies of his court, he could not give so punctuall an account, it being altered since his coming from England.

He also inquired perticularly concerning the parlement, the formes of their summons, sitting, debating, voting, power, and authority ; in all which Whitelocke was the better able to satisfy him, having bin a member of parlement for almost thirty years together : and then the dreight-set inquired further.

Dr. What opinions of Calvin are most in estimation in England ? and what is the state of your religion there ?

1653. *Wh.* Neither Calvin's opinion, nor Luther's, are esteemed
 March 8. in England, further then they are agreeable to the holy
 scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are the
 rules, and containe the state of religion professed in England:
 butt by what state of religion is the prophanation of the
Lord's day, and of images and crucifixes in churches per-
 mitted?

Dr. No recreations or workes are permitted on Sundayes,
 till after divine service ended, and then Calvin permitts
 them; and Luther is of opinion for the historicall use of
 images and crucifixes, butt not to pray to them.

Wh. Heerin both the opinion of Calvin and that of Lu-
 ther are expressely contrary to the holy scripture, and
 therefore not esteemed in these points in England.

The dreight-set eagerly asserted these opinions not to be
 contrary to the scripture, butt alleadged no prooffe, either
 from thence, or out of humane authors, to make good his
 assertion.

After much argumentation heeruppon, the dreight-set
 offered to Whitelocke, that he would move the queen for
 a speedy dispatch of his buisnes; and said, he did not doubt
 butt that satisfaction would be given him therin.

Whitelocke was the more desirous to gett a conclusion of
 his buisnes whilest Piementelle was heere, bicause of his
 great favour with the queen; which, with her respects to
 Montecuculi, both great papists, caused Whitelocke to have
 the more doubt of her inclinations.

Prince

Prince Adolphe made a great intertainment for Monteculi, Piementelle, and most of the grandees in town : butt Whitelocke was omitted, his humor and principles as to their jollities and drinking of healths, not being agreeable to theirs ; and he held this neglect no affliction to him.

1653.

March 8.

Whitelocke visited the ricks admirall Oxenstierne, the chancellor's brother, who received him with great civility ; and they discoursed very much of Whitelocke's buisnes to the effect as others did.

9.

He also visited Grave John Oxenstierne, the chancellor's eldest son, whose carryage was elated ; two of his pages were sons of earles, and had the title of earles : his servants were some of them sett att his outer doore to receive Whitelocke, himselfe vouchsafed to meet him att the inner doore, and, with supercilious reservedness of state, descended to say to Whitelocke, that he was wellcome.

They discoursed of England, where this Grave had bin, as is before remembered, and the distast he there received, which possibly might cause his greater neglect of Whitelocke, who tooke little notice of it.

He tooke uppon him to be fully instructed in the affayres of England, and of the lawes and government there ; wherein Whitelocke presumed to rectify some of his mistakes.

When he offered to move the queen for dispatch of Whitelocke's buisnes, he answered, that he had done it himselfe already, and there would be no need to trouble any other.

This occasioned some discourse about the treaty, to which, with great gravity, this generall declared his judgement concerning

cerning contraband goods, that great care was to be taken
 therein, not to give any interruption to trade; Whitelocke
 March 9. said, that concerned England much more then Sweden.

Then he took care that the english rebels and traytors might have favour in his countrey: butt Whitelocke, knowing that he was neither imployed nor versed in the buisnes of his treaty, spent the fewer words in answer to his immateriall objections.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke attended the queen, who excused her not having conferred with him about his treaty: Whitelocke told her, that, if it were now seasonable, he had them ready, and they might reade them over together; wherunto she consented, and he read them to her.

She tooke out a paper of notes, written with her own hand in latin, her observations upon the articles.

After Whitelocke had read the first article, she said, there was nothing therein which needed explanation.

2. The second, she said, would require consideration, and read, out of her notes, the words communis interesse, which she desired Whitelocke to explaine what was meant by them. He told her those words included matter of safety, and matter of traffique: she then demaunded why the Baltick sea was named, as to free navigation, and not other seas likewise? Whitelocke said, the reason was, bicause att present navigation was not free in the Baltick sea, butt if she pleased to have other seas also named, he would consent to it: she asked, if he would consent as to freedome of navigation in America? Whitelocke told her he could not, and that the treatyes of the common-wealth were comprehended within
 7 the

the bounds of Europe. She asked him what he thought the protector would doe in case she should demaund that liberty? He said, his highnes would give such an answear as should consist with the interest of England, and show a due regard to her majesty.

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March 9.

3. This third article, she said, she would agree unto, butt she thought it necessary, that a forme should be agreed uppon for certificates and letters of safe conduct, that ships might passe free uppon showing of them. Whitelocke said, he thought there would be no need of them, especially if the peace with the Dutch were concluded. She replied, that if the war continued, it would be necessary.

4. She said, she thought there would be no need of this article, and read another, which she herselfe had drawn in latin, to this effect.

“That if any heerafter should commit treason, or be rebels in one countrey, they should not be harboured in the other.” Whitelocke said, the article was already to that purpose, and he thought it was necessary for the good of both nations: she said, it would be too sharpe against divers officers who had served her father, and herselfe, and were now settled in Sweden. Whitelocke offered that amendement which he before tendered to the chancellor, which, when she read, she told Whitelocke, that might include all those men whom she mentioned before. Whitelocke said, that, uppon inquiry into it, he found not one excepted by name from pardon. She said, for any thing to be done heerafter, it was reasonable, and she would consent to it. Whitelocke said, that if any heerafter should come into her countrey, who were excepted from pardon, it was also reasonable to include them in this article.

5. She

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5. She said, that this and the second article would require further consideration; because, if she should consent therunto, it would declare her breach of the newtrality, which she had hitherto kept. Whitelocke told her, if the peace were concluded with the Dutch, that newtrality would be gone; and, if the warre continued, he presumed she would not sticke to declare otherwise then that newtrality: she said, that was true, butt she desired that this, and the second article might be lett alone, untill the issue of the dutch treaty.

6. Article she said was reasonable.

7. She took exception to the words, bona à suis cujusq; inimicis direpta, which she said was a breach of her newtrality: to that Whitelocke answered, as before uppon the fifth article, and she desired it might be past over as the second and fifth articles, till the issue of the dutch treaty were known. She said, she would desire the liberty of fishing for herrings: Whitelocke told her, that, uppon equall conditions, he presumed his highnes would consent to that which should be fitt. She asked, what conditions he would demaund? Whitelocke said, those matters of commerce would be better agreed uppon with the advice of marchants.

8. Article she said was equall.

9. There was no difference uppon it.

10. She judged fitt to be agreed uppon.

11. She made some short observations, which by explanation Whitelocke cleered, and she agreed.

12. The

12. The like as uppon the 11th article.

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13. To this article she read in latin an objection to the proviso, and said, it was reasonable that, if they did breake bulke, they should pay custome for so much only as they sould. Whitelocke told her, that objection showed, that there were great men marchants in Sweden, and that the objection was more in favour of the marchants then of herselfe: she said, the marchants were crafty indeed; and she did not much insist uppon it.

14. The last article which Whitelocke had given in; to this she said, it was fitt that the men of war, that should come into the others ports, should be to a number ascertained, to avoyd suspition. Whitelocke said, he would agree therunto, with a caution, as in the first article, to be added; if they should be driven by tempest, force, or necessity, then to be dispenced with.

Whitelocke desired her majesty to give him a copy of her objections; she told him, they were only a few things which she had written with her own hand, uppon her apprehension of the articles, and that he should have them in writing; butt she desired him not to acquaint any person heer with this conference.

Uppon yesterdays conference with the queen, Whitelocke wrote the passages therof, att large, to Thurloe, to be communicated to the councell in England, and to pray their direction in some points, which are sett down thus in his letters.

“ I shall desire to know the pleasure of my lord protector and councell, whither, in case I shall conclude those ar-

1653. ticles of amity and commerce, omitting the second, fifth,
 Mar. 10. and seventh articles, if his highnes will be pleased to approve therof: I confesse my humble opinion is (unlesse I receive commaunds to the contrary) that, in case the peace be concluded between us and Holland, and Denmarke included, it will be no disadvantage to us to conclude the alliance heer, omitting the second, fifth, and that part of the seventh article against which her majesty objected, if she shall insist uppon it.

“ Another point, wherein I pray direction, is uppon the sixteenth article of your treaty with the Dutch, that either common-wealth shall be comprehended, if they desire it, in treatyes with other princes, and notice to be given of such treatyes; whither in case your treaty with the Dutch shall be agreed, that then, notice ought to be given to them of the treaty with the queen of Sweden, and the Dutch to be offered to be comprehended therein; or whither the treaty heer, being begun before that with the Dutch concluded, there will be any cause to give such notice to them, or to give notice to the queen of your treaty with the Dutch; which you will be pleased to consider.

“ I am very willing to hasten homewards, when I may obtaine my lord's order; and that it will be no prejudice heer to your service, as I conceive such a conclusion would not att all be.

“ I presume you have heard of the newes att Antwerpe, which is very fresh heer this weeke, that the arch-duke hath imprisoned the duke of Loraine in the castle of Antwerpe, which caused the gates of the town to be shutt; and that hath occasioned to your friends heer the losse of the comfort of this weeks letters from England, the post being stayed

stayed there, as I was certefyed from your resident att Ham- 1653.
 bourgh.”

Mar. 10.

Many dispatches were made by Whitelocke to his friends in England, as his constant course was.

The ricks admirall visited Whitelocke ; he discoursed of 11.
 the treaty heer, and said, that the queen had not yett informed the councell of it in perticular. He much inquired of the nobility of England, of the earls and barons, and of their priviledges, and what ranke their children had, and of the severall orders of knights, and of their originall ; in which matters Whitelocke was able to give him some satisfaction.

He told Whitelocke, that the duke of Loraine was imprisoned for conspiring with the compte de Bassigni, to betray three strong townes to the king of France.

Whitelocke visited prince Adolphe, who also discoursed of his buisnes, as others did : Whitelocke told him of his long being heer without any answeare ; the prince said, the queen's designs to introduce a mutation might cause it. Whitelocke said, he believed that the amity of England deserved so much regard as to be imbraced ; and that it would be all one, whither the treaty should be agreed uppon by the queen, or by her successor, for it concerned the people and state of both nations ; and he presumed, that if the queen should consent to it, that his highness's brother would have the like good opinion of it.

The prince said, it would be most agreeable to his brother, who very much respected the English nation, as generally the Swedish people did. He said, that he never

1653. was present att the councell, nor did middle with any publique buisnes; butt he doubted not, butt that Whitelocke would receive contentment.

Whitelocke said, he promised himselfe so much, being the protector had sent him hither to testify his respects to the queen, and to the kingdome of Sweden, and to offer them the amity of England.

The prince also discoursed of the late king of England, and of the proceedings between him and the parlement, with great dislike therof; to which Whitelocke gave him an account, and a modest answer, declining that argument with the prince, and telling him, that every nation had their perticular rights and lawes, according to which they were governed.

He testified great respect to Whitelocke; and, when he tooke his leave, the prince conducted him as farre as the great court, which he used not to doe to others of Whitelocke's quality.

12. Mr. Bloome, who had bin formerly a servant to the old duke of Bucks in England, and after that, comming to Sweden, was intertained by the chancellor, and his great creature, and had bin imployed by him as a publique minister, did the honor to Whitelocke to be often with him; and now, after dinner, discoursed much of the revolution which was likely to happen in this countrey by the queen's resignation; uppon which subject, Whitelocke thought not fitt to speake much in company.

Afterwards, in private, Whitelocke asked Mr. Bloome, if he had heard the chancellor speake of deferring his buisnes

nes till the prince were crowned? Bloome confest, he heard 1563.
 the chancellor say, that he thought it would be more con-
 venient to have Whitelocke's buisnes resolved after the king ^{Mar. 12.}
 should be crowned, then att present. Whitelocke told him
 (which he supposed Bloome would againe relate to the chan-
 cellor), that all acts of such nature, concluded by the queen
 before her resignation, would be held authentique by her
 successor. Bloome said, he believed so; butt, being the
 change would be so soone, he thought it might be better to
 have the buisnes putt into the hands of the new king.
 Whitelocke said, it would require a long time to expect the
 new king's settlement, before which he believed his returne
 home might be commaunded. Bloome said, the buisnes
 would be soon done after the meeting of the ricksdagh,
 which did not use to sitt long.

By this, and other discourses, Whitelocke found that
 there was a purpose in some to deferre the conclusion of
 his treaty to the king, which he therefore prepared to pre-
 vent.

La Belle Comtesse made a great intertainment and balle
 for Montecuculi, and the rest of the gallants, this night,
 though it were the Lord's day; butt Whitelocke nor none
 of his company were present att it.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke to conferre about his 13.
 treaty, and said to him.

Er. The queen hath commaunded me to come to you,
 and to have some conference with you about your propo-
 salls, wherin she is pleased to make use of my service, bi-
 cause, att this time, my father is very ill of an ague, and
 is not able himselfe to meet with you; and his former in-
 disposition

1653. disposition of health, and extraordinary affayres, hath bin
 ~~~~~  
 Mar. 13. some occasion of hinderance of the dispatch of your buisnes,  
 as also the uncertainty of the issue of your treaty with  
 Holland, and our great buisnes of the queen's intentions  
 heer.

*Wh.* I have long expected some answer to be given in  
 my buisnes, the greatest part wherof hath no dependance  
 uppon the treaty with Holland, and the queen's intentions  
 heer have bin butt lately made knowne. I have bin three  
 moneths in this place without any answer to my buisnes,  
 although I presume, that the amity of England is gratefull  
 to this nation, and may merit the acceptance.

*Er.* So is the friendship of Sweden.

*Wh.* My lord protector hath testified that by sending me  
 hither.

*Er.* The queen hath likewise sent severall publique mi-  
 nisters to England, and Mnr. Lagerfeldt was a long time  
 there without effecting any thing.

*Wh.* He had answers to his propofalls very often, and it  
 was on his part that a conclusion was not had with him.  
 Butt if you please to proceed to a conference uppon my  
 propofalls, I am ready to treat with you, as I have alwayes  
 bin to treat with my lord chancellor, your father, for whose  
 ill health I am heartily sorry.

*Er.* I am ready in the same way of secrefry as it hath bin  
 carryed with my father, so that Mnr. Beningen, in his let-  
 ters to his superiors, saith, that the english ambassador did  
 treat with none butt the queen alone, and sometimes alone



with the chancellor, wherby he could not possibly give any 1653.  
 account of those transactions; for he thought, that not one <sup>Mar. 13.</sup>  
 person in Sweden, except the queen and the chancellor,  
 knew what they were.

*Wh.* The gentleman hath done me an honor in that expression.

*Er.* My comming to your excellence is to proceed in your buisnes, and I desire a consideration may be had of the great losses which the queen's subjects have sustained by the seising and detaining of their ships by the English.

*Wh.* This is a new objection, and I am neither impowred, nor have ability to cast up such accounts, or to take such examinations; butt there is a court of justice in England, which I presume have done, and will doe, right to any who have cause to complaine: and I know, that my lord protector will commaund that justice shall be done to all the queen's subjects; and if any of them have received any injury, they ought to receive a just satisfaction from the parties that did them wrong; and, if you please, I shall mention these things in my letters to England, and, when I come thither myselfe, I will personally indeavor that the same may be had fully.

*Er.* I hope a just satisfaction will be given heerin, without which there can be no solid foundation of amity between the two nations and their people.

*Wh.* The same is reasonably and mutually to be expected; and I make no question, butt my lord protector will order right to be done therin.

*Er.*



1653. *Er.* The queen's subjects have received great losses under  
 colour of contrebenda goods, when the same hath not bin  
 Mar. 13. proved.

*Wh.* And many of our allies have bin found to colour our enemies goods to the damage of England: butt these matters will be proper for an examination elsewhere.

They proceeded to the perticular articles.

1. This Eric said was equall.
2. He made the same objections as the queen had done, and Whitelocke gave the same answers; and Eric said, that this article depended upon our treaty with the Dutch.
3. Eric desired an explanation of the words, omnibus in locis quibus hactenus commercium exercebatur, whither that were not intended to include the english plantations in America, because traffique thither, without speciall license, was prohibited by our common-wealth; and he said, it would be unequall for the English to have the full traffique in the queen's dominions, and her subjects not to have the like in our common-wealth.

Whitelocke answered, that the English desired no traffique in any of the queen's dominions out of Europe, and, therefore, it was equall not to consent to their traffique in America; and that the opinion of the councill of state in England had bin made known to M<sup>r</sup>. Lagerfeldt in England, in this point: which paper Whitelocke then showed, and the Grave urged many other arguments, butt Whitelocke kept himselfe to the paper of the councill.

Eric



Eric said, those transactions of Lagerfeldt were remitted <sup>1653.</sup>  
 to Whitelocke's ambassy. Whitelocke said, that whatever <sup>Mar. 13.</sup>  
 his instructions might warrant, yett it would not become  
 him to doe any thing contrary to that, wherin the councell  
 of state had declared their judgement.

The same answer Whitelocke gave him concerning the  
 herring fishing, which Eric much insisted upon; and as  
 to the præ-emption of the commodities of Sweden, men-  
 tioned in the councells paper, which Whitelocke showed  
 him, Eric said, that could not be, because those commodi-  
 ties were of very great value, and belonged to severall pri-  
 vate persons; and he demaunded of Whitelocke, if he  
 thought England would be contented to give a præ-  
 emption of all their cloth.

Whitelocke said, the cloth of England was likewise of  
 very great value, and there would hardly be found one  
 stocke to buy it all, and there were severall staples in other  
 countryes to vent it att; and he said, he thought the best way  
 would be, first to agree upon the generall amity and com-  
 merce between the two nations, and afterwards, if Sweden  
 held it fitt, when they sent an ambassador to England, or  
 otherwise, to propound any thing concerning the fishing  
 for herrings, or the traffique in America, or touching a  
 staple att Narva, Revell, or Gothenbergh (which Eric like-  
 wise discoursed of att large), that the protector would give  
 a fayre and just answer.

4. Eric made the same objections that the queen had  
 done, and had the same answers.

5. The like discourse was upon this article.

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R r r

6. Eric



1653. 6. Eric said, was the same in effect with the fourth article,  
 Mar. 13. and might be adjoyned to it: Whitelocke showed him the  
 difference, chiefly in the beginning of this article; and so  
 they past on.

7. They had many arguments touching contrebanda  
 goods, wherin Whitelocke held himselfe to the paper given  
 by the councell to Lagerfeldt; and Eric past it over, as  
 depending uppon the successe of the treaty with Holland,  
 especially in the words bona a suis cujusq; inimicis direpta.

8. Eric thought would need explanation of the words  
 in quolibet fuorum marium: Whitelocke told him, that  
 was intended in Europe only.

9. Eric said, the words, armatis vel inermibus, were not  
 necessary; bicause, by the law of Sweden, any might carry  
 their armes with them: Whitelocke told him, that it was  
 not permitted in England for so many together without  
 license.

10. Eric made no objection to this article.

11. Nor any to this article.

12. Nor was any thing objected to this article.

13. Eric said, the proviso needed explanation, as to the  
 point of breaking bulke, as the queen had objected; and  
 Whitelocke gave the same answer.

14. The like objections and answers as before, and con-  
 sent to the like amendement.

Eric



Eric and much other good company dined with Whitelocke, and, after dinner, they had further discourse on the same subject. And Eric promised to give his objections to Whitelocke in writing, and to lett him know the queen's pleasure uppon their conference; which Whitelocke intended to know also from the queen herselfe.

1653.  
Mar. 13.

The company being gone, Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who discoursed much touching the duke of Loraine, and of the insolencies of his soldiers, for which the duke would give no right; butt, if a poor countryman complained to him, that his wife had bin ravished by his soldiers, and his goods taken away, the duke would laugh at the poor man, and say to him, it is my condition, the king of France hath ravished my wife and my estate, and I have gott another wife, and maintaine myselfe with the goods of others; and I advise thee to doe the same as I have done.

Piementelle informed Whitelocke of a carriage of Beningen, of much more incivility towards the queen, then that which he attributed to Whitelocke towards prince Adolphe; and Whitelocke imparted to Piementelle some passages between Grave Eric and Whitelocke, supposing he would tell it to the queen.

Fower of the queen's servants did Whitelocke the honor to dine with him; and, after they were gone, Whitelocke visited the Feldt Marshall Wrangell, a gentleman of an antient noble family in this countrey, son to generall Wrangell, of whom so often and so honorable mention is made in the German warres under Gustavus Adolphus, the queen's father.

14.



1653.

Mar. 14.

This feldt marshall was about thirty-five years of age, his person proper and burly, his countenance marshall and ingenious, and his discourse answerable; his behaviour courteous, and full of cheerfulness in his words and actions; his education was liberall: some time he had spent in forein parts, and had attained languages, and the military part of learning.

He was full of knowledge of the mathematiques, and well read in story: his genius led him most to warfare, and the sea affayres seemed most suitable to his affections; wherof he would much discourse with Whitelocke, and admired his relations of the english fleets and havens.

His valour and conduct had commonly the best associate, good successe, which he used to improve, not parting with the least advantage: this brought him to the favour of his queen, and honor of his countrey, wherin he was a ricks senator, and as a feldt marshall commaunded the army, and was ricks vice-admirall, which charge he attained in the late warre with Denmarke; and he it was that tooke the king of Denmarke's ships, in the late fight with them.

Whitelocke gave him thanks for his favours to Whitelocke's son att Stockholme: they discoursed of the english navy, wherof Wrangell knew many of the ships by name. He told Whitelocke, that Middleton was arrived in Scotland with 200 officers and 6000 armes, which he brought from the lowe countryes.

From Wrangell, Whitelocke went to visit Woolfeldt, to congratulate his recovery of health. He told Whitelocke, that, by letters which he received from one of his servants in the low countryes, he was advertised, that the states had  
sould.



ould above twenty of their ships of warre, and that his <sup>1653.</sup>  
 fervant heard the admirall de Wits speake of it. He also <sup>Mar. 14.</sup>  
 told Whitelocke, that he had spoken with many officers of  
 the army, and found all of them wish, that the war be-  
 tween England and Holland might continue; by which they  
 hoped they should joyne with the English, and gayne advan-  
 tage by it, and themselves good imployment and plunder.

Butt he said, that the chancellor and his sons, and their  
 party, desired that a peace might be between the two com-  
 mon-wealths, bicause they were rich enough, and had an  
 interest in trade, and were no soldiers; and that the queen  
 desired peace among all her neighbours, and although she  
 was very couragious, yett she loved not the warres.

Whitelocke waited on the queen, and gave her an ac- <sup>15.</sup>  
 count of the conference between Grave Eric and him: the  
 queen said, that Grave Eric had told her the same things;  
 Whitelocke replied, that her majesty should never find  
 other then trueth from him. Uppon the point of damages  
 she seemed satisfied, though she were informed, that those  
 matters were remitted to Whitelocke's negotiation: to which  
 he answered as he had done before to Eric; and she was  
 contented; and said, she would send an ambassador to Eng-  
 land, by whom the affayres touching the herring fishing,  
 and the erection of a staple, and the trade in America,  
 might be concluded; and she told Whitelocke, that she had  
 ordered those things, which she judged fitt to be added to  
 his articles, to be written down and given to him.

She asked Whitelocke, by what way he purposed to re-  
 turne to England; he said, he was doubtfull of going by  
 land, and thought the passage from Stockholme to Lubec  
 would be the shortest and most convenient for him.

She.



1653. She replied, that would be his best way, and that she  
 Mar. 15. would give order for some of her ships to be ready to transport him; for which Whitelocke thanked her majesty.

She discoursed much of England, and asked many questions about the Thames, and other rivers of England, and of their havens and armies; wherof Whitelocke gave her a full account.

She asked him, in how many dayes one might goe from Plimouth to St. Sebastian, and many other things on that subject.

They also discoursed of religion, and the worship and service of God; wherin Whitelocke spake plainly and freely to her majesty, and told her, that those who made a mock att religion, and were atheists in their opinion, were not only most miserable in their own condition, butt brought others likewise into misery; and all of them would find, that God would not be mocked, nor such conversation be excused, butt would be brought into a sad account in the end; and that there was no foundation in any such people, or in their opinions, butt what was sandy, and would fayle, and all building theruppon would totter, and falle downe, and become rubbish: that the only solid comfort and true wisdom lay in the sincere worship and service of God, which was not only agreeable to the doctrine of trueth, butt to reason itselfe. To this, and much of the like discourse, the queen was very attentive, and seemed pleased with it.

16. Whitelocke received his letters from England, and, in those from Thurloe he writes thus:



“ The perticular account, your excellence gives of your 1653.  
negotiation, is very acceptable heer, as is also your dexter-  
ous management therof. The paper, you were pleased to Mar. 16.  
send to me, shall be represented to the councell; and your  
excellence may be assured, that a due care will be taken of  
that buisnes, as well for justice sake, as that your present  
buisnes be not hindred by things of this kind. The bales  
of the queen's goods shall also be taken care of, and any  
omissions, which have bin therin, rectified: and I doe assure  
your excellence, that the queen's commissary heer hath such  
speedy and effectuall dispatches in every thing he makes ap-  
plication for, that I know he cannot butt give notice of it  
to the queen.”

Then he gives in his letters a full relation of the state of  
the dutch treaty, and all perticulars of it, and the likely-  
hood of its taking effect; and gives intelligence of the  
french newes; and sends copyes of Beningen's letters from  
Ubsale to the states, and of the posture of affayres in Eng-  
land, Scotland, and Ireland: and concludes; “ therefore,  
with my humble thanks for your excellency's favour to me  
of your weekly letters, and hearty wishes for your safe and  
honourable returne to your friends and relations heer,  
I rest

your excellency's most humble

Feb. 16.

1653.

and faithfull fervant,

JO. THURLOE.”

Whitelocke received many letters from his private friends,  
his brothers-in-lawe, Mr. Hall, Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Elton-  
head, Sir Charles Woolsey, colonel Sydenham, and one  
from Mr. Selden; which, for the extraordinary respect  
therof,



1653. therof, and the person's sake (of whom the queen made  
 often enquiry), is fitt to be remembred, and was thus :

Mar. 16.

*To his excellencie the lord Whitelocke, lord ambassador to her  
 most excellent majesty of Sweden.*

“ May it please your excellence,

“ There is nothing happens heer, that can be worthy of  
 “ your knowledge, butt you meet with it, doubtless, long  
 “ before I could send it ; indeed, I thinke, long before I  
 “ know it, so that I cannot present you with any english  
 “ newes : my still keeping in, from the open cold air,  
 “ makes me a meer winter stranger in my own countrey.  
 “ The best newes I have heard, since I had the honor to  
 “ see you, and that which brought me with it an ample  
 “ store of gladness, was the assurance of your excellence's  
 “ safety, which a false rumor, with great confidence, had  
 “ utterly destroyed heer. There is none living can, with  
 “ more hearty affection, wish all happyness to you, and  
 “ good successe in your great imployment there, and a safe  
 “ and timely returne, then doth most really,

“ your excellence's most

Whitefryers,  
 10. Feb. 1653.

“ obliged, and most

“ humble servant,

“ F. SELDEN.”

The occasion, of that passage in his letter of a false rumor,  
 was newes brought into England, that Whitelocke was  
 stabbed and murdered in Sweden ; and thus his death was,  
 with much confidence, reported from severall hands, and  
 from



from divers intelligences out of severall parts of Christen-  
dome. Whitelocke's friends were much startelled att this  
newes, and the more, bicause of former intelligences of  
designes of that nature against him, wherof they wrote him  
word; and he was glad to reade the newes, and that  
(through the goodnes of God) he was able to confute those  
reports: they were kept from Whitelocke's wife by the care  
of his friends, till one, in gladnes, came to give her joy,  
that the ill newes of her husband was not true; which  
brought the whole matter to her knowledge, and herselfe to  
great perplexity, uppon the suddain apprehension and  
fright of it, though there was no trueth in it.

1653.  
Mar. 16.

Whitelocke, that he might not seem wholly to neglect the  
queen's favour, had sent a pacquet of his letters, which had  
no secrets, unto Mnr. Bonele, the queen's commissary in  
England, who wrote back an account to Whitelocke of his  
care of them, and of the commaund he had received from  
the queen so to doe, and prayed Whitelocke to speake to  
the queen on Bonele's behalfe.

Prince Adolphe visited Whitelocke, and they discoursed  
much of England, and of Whitelocke's buisnes; whom the  
prince perswaded to stay in patience for an answear, and  
he doubted not butt that he would receive satisfaction.

17.

Whitelocke said, that hitherto he had bin very patient,  
and would continue so, and not importune any body to  
speed his answear, being it concerned both nations; and  
he believed, that Sweden would be as well disposed to in-  
tertaine the amity of England, as England had bin in the  
offer of it: butt Whitelocke thought fitt to informe the  
prince, and some others, that he thought his residence heer  
would not be long; and that, as soon as my lord protector



1653. should send his letter for his returne to England (which he  
 ~~~~~ expected in a short time), he would presently take his  
 Mar. 17. journey.

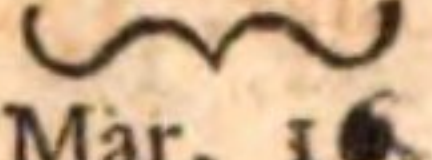
They discoursed also touching his brother, who was to succeed, and of the brotherly affection between them; as also of the propofall which had bin heertofore made in the ricksdagh of the queen to marry his royall highness, and the councill's advice and endeavors to further the same; and how it was not brought to passe, the queen being wholly adverse to marriage, butt causing the succession of the prince Palatin to be enacted by the ricksdagh after her majesty, if she had no children: and, in these perticulars, the prince was free in his discourse; butt Whitelocke thought not fitt for him to be so.

Whitelocke communicated to some of his company a letter which he received from a member of a congregation in London, which was thus:

For his excellence the lord ambassador Whitelocke att Sweden.

MY LORD,

“ The wise and holy carriage of Solomon, before the
 “ queen of Sheba, are more lasting monuments of his
 “ prayse then his targets of gould, or magnificent temple:
 “ the glory of saints is a glorious name, by which, though
 “ dead, yett they speake. God will not be ungratefull,
 “ nor unfaithfull, to forget, or not to recompence, any
 “ labour of love. The interest of Christ; what greater
 “ jewell in the world! and yett how little liked and loved
 “ by the world? All seek their own, not the things of
 “ Jesus Christ; the best, the noblest, the most lasting, yett
 “ not

“ not minded: our own things, poor, low, uncertaine, 1653.
 “ unsatisfactory, yett pursued. The heart runneth after the 
 “ wedge of gold, and the mind seeks for greatnes; give ^{Mar. 16}
 “ me honor or else I dye: a crown heer is more desired
 “ then heaven heerafter. Divine love hath great daunger
 “ accompanying it, butt the recompence is answearable;
 “ *be thou faithfull unto death, and I will give thee a crown*
 “ *of life.* Learned Paul counts all things butt dung and
 “ drosse to holy Christ; and Moses esteemed reproaches
 “ for Christ, and afflictions with the people of Christ,
 “ greater riches then the treasures of Ægypt, or the honors
 “ att court. And now, fir, will you have the meaning of
 “ all? it is only a christian motive to you, to eye the
 “ highest Lord, and the best interest, with the greatest in-
 “ dustry; that his honor, which is best of all, be dearer to
 “ you then all countrey honor: life, world, are not to be
 “ named in the day of his glory. O mind him who will
 “ not forgett you in the least! there's none in heaven like
 “ him: can there be any thing on earth compared to him?
 “ Two things are chiefly to be minded in all actings; the
 “ spring from whence, and the center to which all moves:
 “ if love to God be the spring of all, and glory for God
 “ the center of all, then the heart is upright in all. Re-
 “ member the blessed sound, *well done, thou good and faith-*
 “ *full servant, thou hast bin faithfull in a little, butt thou*
 “ *shalt be injoyer of much; enter into thy Lord's joy.* And
 “ truely, fir, you have bin not a little in my thoughts to
 “ God for you; so hath it imboldened me thus to speake
 “ to God for you. My soul and many more have bin
 “ sett a praying God on your behalfe, for that noble
 “ christian testimony and dislike of that wicked custome of
 “ cup-health pledging; wheras a christian's health is God,
 “ and his cup, salvation. And blessed be the Lord, that
 “ did give you to dislike the balle of pleasure; and that

1653. " the Lord of that day was so pretious. Goe on nobly for
 Mar. 17. " the Lord; give your testimony against the wicked
 " customes of a strange countrey, or dying world; beare
 " his image in all your transactions, and follow his steppes,
 " who was the most glorious ambassador that ever was;
 " and, in this motion, the Lord fill your sailes with his
 " gales, make you holily successfull, and give you to see
 " your land and relations, full of heavenly fruition, is the
 " humble and hearty desire of one of the least sons of Syon,
 " ready to serve the Lord in you or yours.

" JONATHAN PICKES."

18. Doctor Whistler made a copy of latin verses upon the
 queen's abdication, which, for the ingenuity and fancy,
 were worthy the sight of a prince, and Whitelocke sent
 * See ap- them to the queen, who was much taken with them *.

pendix L.

Whitelocke was so pleased with those verses, that, having
 a little leisure, himselfe turned them into this english:

What then tho' northern heaven do'st thou disdain,
 New Atlas on thy shoulders to sustaine?
 Wearied Christina, se'st thou any feare
 Eternall empire ore the Swedes to beare?
 O princely virgin, do'st abhorre the strife
 Of fasces, like the vulgar Stolo's wife,
 That scepters look't for rattles? who doth bound
 With starres her frame, yett cannot now be found
 Content to governe those, who ready are
 To serve, with all affection and care.
 What doth a kingdome, or filke garments burne?
 Unto what softnes of the mind doth turne
 Gustavus' martiall race? of one so greate,
 What thunder-bolts doe fright thee from thy seate?

Let's

Lett croudes of gownmen prattle what they please ;
 Wealth not to suffer, and if prosperous ease
 Torment, a feeble mind this doth reveale,
 Which hardly Jupiter himfelfe can heale ;
 Who easy to their health can poyson frame,
 And give the grave to those that wifh the fame.
 Great one, thou rufhest on thyfelfe, and speed
 Thou mak'ft from fuch a ftrange unworthy deed
 T' abfolve the gods ; the thunder-bolts from high,
 Which ftrike thee guiltlefs, by the cyclops eye
 Were not directed. No, Chrifтина, thou
 Envi'ft thyfelfe ; none elfe could make thee bowe :
 She falles by her own hand, her temples round
 For facrifice with her own purple bound.
 Uppon the altar thou thyfelfe do'ft throwe,
 A royall offering ; that it fhould be fo
 Unwilling, they who yett, if they could be
 Thus fav'd, account it butt an injury.
 Such prefervation they would not take,
 Nor Pallas facrific'd for people's fake.
 They fume, provok'd by love and not by hate,
 Untam'd they champe the bitt of their new ftate,
 And breake the unknown reines : thy fofter hand
 With ufual sweetnes gentlier did commaund.
 Returne, though late, to the Elyfian grove ;
 So pray the people ; yett, when ftarres above
 Compelling, thou from hence art fnatcht away,
 The fatall law as equall all obey.
 To miserable men will comfort be,
 That them to rule, it was not grieve to thee.
 That better realm, thy heaven, with thee inflam'd
 Might anthems fmg, when Amarantha's nam'd.
 Lefle trouble if the world thou fee'ft from high,
 And do'ft thyfelfe fhine in this ftarry fkye ;

1653.

Mar. 18.

Secure

1653. Secure of thee, that the earth shall not see

Christina lessen'd or despis'd to be.

Mar. 18.

What a vaine prophet am I this to say!

Thou greater art then fate; and fortune may

Disguise thee miserable to her shame,

Butt cannot take from thee thy virtue's fame:

Nor thy ennobled mind to give with ease

Lawes unto men, and thine own selfe to please.

As a queen alwayes I shall honor thee,

Direct thyselfe what thou would'st have to be,

I shall obey: fortune thou do'st adorne

With titles, and where titles high are borne,

Those do'st thou grace with virtues. Should'st thou stray

(As private persons doe) in any way,

Thou can'st not be conceal'd, thy native light

To suffer an eclipse doth shine too bright.

Refracted twilight of so great a starre

Obscures the light of those that vulgar are.

Lett people mysteries of state adore,

No great thing pleaseth them; they goe before,

Or follow after, with unequall pace,

Those unknown paths which higher minds doe trace.

A woman that may governe as she please,

And yett will not, butt seeks her private ease,

Is a rare bird in howses; much more rare

In courts such selfe-denying women are.

Thus to the world a patterne do'st thou frame;

If any one heerafter doe the same,

That man Apollo shall be unto me,

That woman Pallas shall accounted be.

Whitelocke having sent to know if the queen were at
leisure, that he might waite upon her, she returned an
excuse,

excuse, that she was not well: she came away sicke from 1653.
 the publique schooles, where she had bin to grace the dif-
 putations of a young swedish baron with her presence. Mar. 18.

Senator Bundt visited Whitelocke, and discoursed with him in english, which he spake indifferently well, and was the only Swede he conversed with in that language: part of their discourse was to this effect;

Bundt. Mnr. Beningen, the holland resident in this court, acquainted me, that his superiors have concluded the agreement with England: only some provinces desire a more expresse inclusion of the king of Denmarke, then is yett contained in the articles: and they are much troubled, that, being uppon the conclusion of the treaty, you make so great preparations of war, and have so powerfull a fleet att sea; and we heer doe much wonder, what should be your designe to have so strong a fleet, and so soon out att sea.

Wh. The designe is, for the defence of the commonwealth; and it is our custome, not to trust to the successe of any treatyes, which is uncertaine, butt to prepare for all events. If the treaty be agreed, it will be religiously observed on our part, and the navy will be imployed to scour the seas of pirates and ennemies, that trade may be free and safe; and we always use, in time of peace, to have a fleet att sea: and if the war continue, we shall be the more ready (by the blessing of God) to maintaine our right. Butt what suspicion have you heer of our navy?

Bu. We suppose it may be imployed to open the passage of the Sundt, and make the trade and navigation there free.

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* The hinderance of navigation there is more prejudiciall to Sweden than to England: we can have our commodities att Gothenbergh, and in other places, without passing the Baltick sea.

Mar. 18.

Bu. Many amongst us know not what to thinke of your fleet, and it troubles some.

Wh. I hope we shall be in neerer amity, and then you will be pleased att it. Have the senators consulted about the matters of my treaty, or of remitting it to the new king?

Bu. We have not advifed any such thing, butt believe the best way for effecting your buisnes will be by the queen herselfe; and if any tell you the contrary, they are much mistaken in the affayres of this kingdome, and doe not give you a right understanding of them.

This being wholly contrary to what was informed by Monsieur Bloome, the chancellor's creature, caused Whitelocke the more to mind it, and indeavour to obviate that prejudice of delay to his buisnes; and finding, by this discourse with Bundt, how much the dutch resident and others heer were amused at the english fleet now att sea, he made use therof, and gave advice of it to his superiors in England.

19. Whitelocke sent to inquire of the queen's health; and, it being the *Lord's day*, she was in her chappell.

Divers English and Scotts of the town came to Whitelocke's house to heare sermons there; and among them was Monsieur Ravius, who acquainted Whitelocke, that one of the queen's chapleins asked Ravius, how long Whitelocke intended

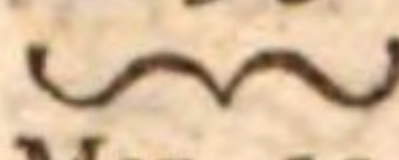
tended to stay in Sweden : Ravius said, he would shortly
 returne to his own countrey ; the chaplein replied, he did
 not believe that, but he thought Whitelocke would stay
 heer a long time, and that he durst not returne to
 England, bicause of the displeasure of the protector against
 him ; and when he was answered, that Whitelocke came
 hither not in the posture of a man out of favour,
 and that the protector, since his accession to the governe-
 ment, had sent him new credentialls, and expressed much
 favour to him, and sent to be certefied what respect the
 queen gave him ; the chaplein replied, that Whitelocke was
 sent hither purposely to be removed out of England, and
 bicause he had bin of the former parlement ; to which Ra-
 vius said, that many, who were of the former parlement,
 were now in publique offices, as Whitelocke was.

1653.
 Mar. 19.

There was cause to believe, that this and many the like
 storyes were feigned by the holland resident, and other
 ennemies of the common-wealth, to asperse Whitelocke and
 his buisnes, and to give some obstruction to it ; butt White-
 locke tooke little notice of such things, only he thanked
 Monsieur Ravius for his defence of Whitelocke, and of the
 trueth.

It was also related to Whitelocke, that the inauguration
 of his royall highness could not probably be performed till
 the feast of St. John the Baptist, and that then nothing
 could be concluded in his buisnes till the feast (as they ex-
 prest it) of the holy arch-angell St. Michael next following,
 bicause it was fitt to be remitted to the prince for his finall
 agreement therunto ; and so the treaty must necessarily re-
 ceive a deferring till that time, which they said would be
 best for Whitelocke's affayre.

Whitelocke told them, that it would be somewhat difficult
 to perswade him, that such a delay of his buisnes would be

1653. best: he was sufficiently convinced of the contrary, and that
 Mar. 19.  such an obstruction would render his treaty wholly fruitless,
 both to England and Sweden, and that he hoped to be him-
 selfe in England long before the time which they prefixed for
 the beginning of his treaty with the new king; and that he
 dayly expected the commaunds of the protector touching
 his returne home, which he should readily and willingly
 obey, whither his treaty heer should be concluded or not.
 He spake the more to this effect, and the oftener, that the
 same might come to the eare of the chancellor and other
 senators.

20. Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who communicated to
 him the newes of the duke of Loraine, and that the united
 provinces of the Netherlands had ratified the articles with
 England: Whitelocke asked if Groningen had consented;
 he said, yes, butt with this restriction, that the prince of
 Orange should be comprised in the treaty, which might yett
 cause some obstruction in it.

Whitelocke imparted to him some of his newes, and im-
 parted such passages of his conferences and buisnes, as he
 desired might by him be related to the queen.

Senator Scute visited Whitelocke, and stayed with him
 above two howers: they discoursed of many things unne-
 cessary to be remembered; some was thus.

Sc. I am sorry that the buisnes of your treaty goes on so
 slowly; butt I hope you will excuse it, in regard the chan-
 cellor is not quick in dispatches, and affects long delibera-
 tions in great matters.

Wh. That is an argument of his prudence and well
 weighing of things before he come to a resolution; and cer-
 tainly

certainly he hath had sufficient time of deliberation in my ^{1653.}
 buisnes.

Mar. 20.

Sc. The chancellor some times may take more time then is necessary for one buisnes, and borrowe it for another ; he knowes the advantages of times and seasons, and how to improve them.

Wh. I have found it so ; butt methinks my buisnes should have bin so acceptable, as to have prevented such great delays.

Sc. Your negotiation as ; to the amity with England, was in consideration with the councill heer before your arrivall ; and all of us agreed that it was more desirable then any other.

Wh. I believe it would be agreeable to you who are persons of great experience, knowing the interest of your own countrey, and how considerable the english nation is ; and this caused a beliefe in me, that I might promise myselfe an answear to my propofalls before my departure from hence.

Sc. The great affayres of this kingdom, and the change likely to happen, have putt a stop to all other buisnes ; and in case your negotiation cannot be brought to a conclusion during your stay heer, yett it may be agreed uppon afterwards by an ambassador to be sent from hence to England.

Wh. My lord protector having testified so much respect to the queen, as he hath done in sending me ambassador hither, for me, after four or five moneths residence and negotiation in this place, to be sent home againe without any conclusion of my buisnes, butt the same to be remitted to

1653. the sending of an ambassador from hence to England, would
 be no answear to the respect of the protector in sending me
 Mar. 20. hither.

Sc. The parlement sent your excellence hither, as I understood, and not the protector.

Wh. My coming hither was att first by my lord protector's desire, he being then generall; and, without his earnest request to me, I had not undertaken it: and, since his accesse to the government, I have received new credentialls from him, by virtue wherof only I have negotiated, and am the first publique minister imployed by his highnes.

Sc. It is a very great respect which the protector hath manifested to you, and by you to our queen and nation; and that which you say carryes reason with it: I shall doe all that possibly may lye in my power to testify my respects and service to his highnes and common-wealth of England, and to your excellence their honorable ambassador.

Wh. You are pleased to expresse a great honor and esteem for my lord protector, and for his servant; wherof I shall not fayle, by any service in my power, to make acknowledgement to your excellence.

There were many other complements and discourfes between them; and the senator fell into a relation of Russia, where he had bin, and of the great duke's bringing att one time into the field an army of 200,000 men, divided into three parties, wherof one part fell uppon Poland, and had lately taken divers considerable places in that kingdome; and much more he spoke of this exploit, which is omitted.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke was somewhat surpris'd by the carriage of fe-^{1653.}
 -nator Scute to him yesterday, and with his freedome of dis-^{Mar. 21.}
 course, which showed him either to be a courtier, and versed
 in the art of simulation, or the reports made of him to
 Whitelocke to be untrue.

Now he seem'd cleerly for the league with England ; be-
 fore he express'd himselfe against it : now he showed civility
 and respect to Whitelocke, and to his superiors ; before, he
 spake disdainfully of them, and their affayres.

Butt an ambassador must heare and see many things, and
 yett take no notice of them ; must court an enemy to be-
 come a friend, as he believed he had done to Scute, who,
 after acquaintance between him and Whitelocke, became
 very friendly. Butt Whitelocke held it requisite to keep att
 somewhat more distance with him then with others, bicause
 he had bin informed, that there was not much of kindnes
 between the chancellor and this gentleman, which was con-
 firm'd by discourse this day with Lagerfeldt.

Lag. I intreat your excellence's excuse for my long ab-
 sence, which hath bin occasioned by an imployment lately
 bestowed on me by her majesty, which takes up my time in
 the discharge of it.

Wh. I doe congratulate the honor and favour of the
 queen towards you, in this part of a reward for your good
 service in England, wherof I was a wittnes, and have
 affirmed it to her majesty : what is the office she hath given
 you ?

Lag. It is vice-president of the colledge of trade.

1653. *Wh.* I suppose the office is profitable as well as honorable.

Mar. 21.

Lag. A competent salary is annexed to the office, and with us, no person doth serve in any office; or publique employment, butt he hath a salary for it from the state.

Wh. That is honorable, and for the advantage of the state: one of your ricks senators was heer with me yesterday, and I had much discourse with him about my buisnes.

Lag. Which of them was with your excellence?

Wh. The senator Scute, whom I saw not before.

Lag. I wonder att his visit: did he expresse much respect to your common-wealth?

Wh. As much as any I have mett with.

Lag. I much wonder att it; but shall advise your excellence not to depend much uppon this gentleman, nor to be over free in your discourse with him, for he hath bin under a clowde, and is very intimate with the holland resident.

Wh. I thanke you for your caution; butt I have communicated nothing to him, butt what might be published.

Lag. My lord Eric Oxenstierne hath, by the queen's commaund, some papers, touching your buisnes, to be imparted to you.

Wh. Do you remember the effect of them?

Lag.

Lag. They containe some explanation of the articles 1653. given in by your excellence, and some additions offered to them; butt not much differing from those exhibited by you. Mar. 21.

They had much discourse about these additions and explanations; wherof Whitelocke indeavoured to gett as much knowledge from Lagerfeldt as he could before hand, that he might be the better prepared to debate uppon them when they should be produced; and he declared his sence positively against some of them to Lagerfeldt, which proved an advantage: some of those additions mentioned, by Lagerfeldt, being uppon his report to Grave Eric of Whitelocke's judgement uppon them, were left out of Grave Eric's paper.

In the afternoon, Grave Eric came to Whitelocke, and they had this discourse together.

Eric. Heer is a paper, which I shall reade unto you, containing some matters wherin I desire your consideration, being they relate to the treaty, as touching contraband goods; that there may be such a liberty, that trade be not impeached, that prizes may not be brought into the ports of friends, nor ennemies admitted into the havens of the friends and allies of either nation; that the fishing for herrings, and the trade in America, may be free for the Swedes; and that they may have satisfaction for the wrongs done to them by the English att sea.

Wh. Heer is very much in these perticulars, to which I have formerly given my answer, and can give no other. England hath had no reason to give a liberty of contraband goods, when their ennemies deny it; and it were hard to forbid friends to bring prizes into the ports of friends, being
no.

1653. no prejudice to the owner of the port, butt a discourtesy to
 the friend: neither is it reason to deny a friend to enter into
 Mar. 21. my harbour, bicause he is an ennemy to another, that is
 my friend also, whose quarrell I am not bound to wedde.
 For the liberty of herring fishing, it may be had from our
 common-wealth uppon reasonable conditions; and for the
 trade in America, I am not instructed to assent to any thing
 therin: butt I supposed it had bin intended to send from
 hence to the protector about it. And for satisfaction of
 wrongs, I know none done by the English to the queen's
 subjects, and imagined that her majesty had bin satisfied in
 these points.

Eric. I have order to acquaint you with these perticulars,
 and to conferre with you about them, being esteemed by
 us just and reasonable.

Wh. After my attendance heer three or four moneths,
 without any answer to my propofalls, I did not expect to
 receive new ones from you so different from those, which I
 gave in with equall respect to the good of both nations: and
 I having offered the friendship of England to you in generall;
 you answer, that it will be accepted, butt uppon parti-
 cular and hard conditions.

Eric. I confesse there hath bin too much delay in your
 buisnes, butt it hath bin occasioned by the incertainty of
 the issue of your treaty with Holland.

Wh. The issue of that treaty is not yett known, and the
 articles given in by me had no relation therunto, and were
 proposed three moneths since.

Eric.

Eric. Att present we take it for graunted, that the peace ^{1653.}
is concluded between you and Holland, and that now you ^{Mar. 21.}
are good friends.

Wh. I wish we may be so : and if that peace be concluded,
there is the lesse need of your propofalls touching prizes,
contraband goods, &c.

Eric. Though the peace be concluded between you, yett
'tis prudent to make those provisions, in case of a new war
with them or others.

Wh. I shall desire a copy of your perticulars.

Eric. You shall have them ; and I desire you to reade this
paper, which is an order of the councill of state in England,
delivered to Monsieur Lagerfeldt when he was there, wher-
by these perticulars are remitted to your negotiation.

Wh. This paper beares date after my departure from
England, and I never saw it before, nor received any per-
ticular instructions on this subject.

Eric. If you are not satisfied touching the point of
damages sustained by her majesty's subjects, in the taking
of their ships and goods by the English, there may be witt-
nesses examined heer for prooffe therof.

Wh. I cannot erect a court, or commissioners, or consent
to examination of witnesses in this place, and uppon this
occasion ; nor can I take accounts of marchants : I confesse
my ignorance.

1653. *Eric.* It may be contained in the treaty, that justice shall
 be done, and satisfaction given to my countrey-men, for the
 Mar. 21. wrongs done to them.

Wh. That cannot be so exprest without accusing our common-wealth, and att least confessing wrongs done, and implying that justice hath not bin done: butt I can assure you, that the common-wealth hath done, and will doe, justice to their friends, and to all persons; and I shall doe all that lyes in my power for that end.

Eric. I shall informe the queen what hath passed in our conference, and know her majesty's pleasure therein.

22. Monsieur Lillycrone informed Whitelocke, that prince Adolphe had taken a solemne leave of the queen, and was gone into the countrey. Whitelocke asked, if it was uppon any discontent? Lillycrone said, he knew not. Whitelocke asked, if he would not be att the ricksdagh? Lillycrone said, he believed the prince did not intend to be att it, butt to travayle inognito with a few servants into France and Italy.

The french resident visited Whitelocke in the afternoon; and seeing his coaches and horses ready to goe abroad to take the aier, offered, with many complements, to beare Whitelocke company, which he could not refuse.

The resident acquainted Whitelocke, that Monsieur Bourdeaux, now in London, had received a commission from the king of France to be his ambassador to the protector; and that Bourdeaux had written to this gentleman heer, to salute Whitelocke on his part, and to signify to him, that Bourdeaux would be willing to intertaine a correspondence with

with Whitelocke, and had expressed much affection to his person. Whitelocke answered, that he should be ready to testify all respect and service to Monsieur Bourdeaux, and desired the resident to testify the same to him at his next opportunity. 1653. Mar. 22.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, who had some trouble in discourse with them both together, the resident speaking only french, and Lagerfeldt only latin, and he must answer them in their respective languages.

After the resident was gone, Lagerfeldt discoursed with Whitelocke about the treaty, particularly of the new proposals showed him by Grave Eric. Whitelocke gave the same answers to Lagerfeldt as he had done to Eric: then Lagerfeldt said, that, by command of the queen, he was to tender to Whitelocke a copy of articles. Whitelocke asked, if they were the same that Grave Eric yesterday imparted to him, and whether Lagerfeldt had any speech with the queen this day about them? Lagerfeldt said, they were altered in some part, so as to make them the more acceptable to Whitelocke, and that he had a few words with the queen about them.

This caused Whitelocke to marvel that the queen should pretend to him that she was sick, and therefore put off the audience which he desired this day; and yett her majesty found herself well enough to peruse and debate with Lagerfeldt these articles: butt he said nothing thereof to others, only made thereof his own observations and use, as he saw occasion. Lagerfeldt and he perused these new articles, and had much discourse upon them; and in effect the same as with Grave Eric.

1653. In the long winter nights heer, Whitelocke thought fitt
 Mar. 22. to give way to some passages of diversion to please his people,
 and to keep them together in his house, and from tempta-
 tions to disorder and debauchery in going abroad, besides
 the daunger of the streets in being late out.

He therfore had musick, both instrumentall and vocall,
 in consort, performed by those of his own family, who were
 some of them excellent in that art; and himselfe sometimes
 bare his part with them.

He also gave way to their exercise and pleasure of
 dauncing in his great chamber, that he might be present att
 it, and admitted no undecent postures, butt seemly proper-
 ties of habits in their showes.

He encouraged publique disputations in latin among the
 young men who were schollers, himselfe present in the
 great chamber, and appointing a moderator; and this ex-
 ercise they found usefull and pleasant, and improving their
 language.

To this end likewise, they had publique declamations in
 latin, himselfe giving them the question, as An quodcuncq;
 evenerit sit optimum, &c. so that his house was like an
 academy.

23. Whitelocke attended the queen; and, after some dis-
 courses of pleasanteries, they fell uppon the treaty, and
 Whitelocke said to her,

Wh. My buisnes, madame, is now brought to a con-
 elusion.

Qu. Is it to your liking?

1653.

Mar. 23.

Wh. Pardon me, madame, if I say it is not att all to my liking: for, in the articles which Grave Eric sent me, there were many perticulars to which I could not agree, and I much wondered to receive such articles from him, being perswaded that your majesty was before fatisfyed by me in most of the perticulars in them.

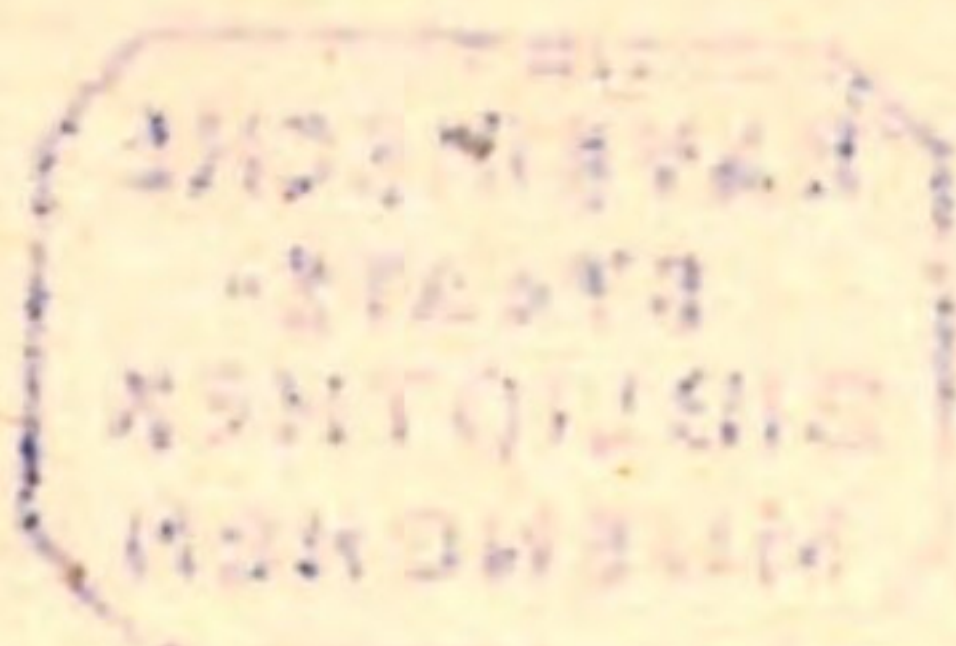
Qu. What are those perticulars?

The articles Whitelocke had in readines with him, and his observations uppon them, having taken paines this morning to compare their articles with his own, and to frame his objections uppon them.

The queen wrote down the objections with her own hand, and then entered into a debate with Whitelocke uppon the whole, and seemed to be fatisfyed in most of the points insisted on by Whitelocke; butt was stiffe uppon the law relating to ships of war, which is mentioned in her eleventh article, and uppon some other perticulars.

After the debate, she desired that Whitelocke would the next morning bring to her his objections in writing; and then she said, we will not be long before we come to a conclusion of this buisnes.

Whitelocke thought it convenient to make his addreses to the queen herselfe, and, as much as he could, to decline conferences with her commissioner Grave Eric, whom he found more than others averse and crosse to him in this treaty: and the queen was pleased to admit Whitelocke to this way, and was not displeased to have applications in this



1653. and other affayres of the like nature, to be made unto her
 ~~~~~ person; wherof Whitelocke had private information before  
 Mar. 23. from Piementelle, Woolfeldt, and others, whose advice he  
 pursued heerin with good successe.

Her majesty also permitted Whitelocke to have a free debate with her uppon the points controverted, and would returne answers to every argument, with as much reason and ingenuity as any of her ministers of state, and be, sooner than they, satisfied with what was reason.

She told Whitelocke, that she marvelled that he having received those long articles butt late the last night, should be able to make objections, and to enter into a debate uppon all of them this day, when her people had much longer time to frame these articles. Whitelocke answered, Yes, by two or three moneths: after some other discourse, Whitelocke left her in a pleasant humor.

Being returned home, Lagerfeldt came againe to him to sift him, and to know what answer the queen had given to his objections uppon the new articles; butt Whitelocke fitted his inquiry, and thought not convenient to communicate to him more than what might advantage his buisnes to be reported to Grave Eric; and bicause, in all conferences with the queen, no person was admitted to be present with them, not her own commissioners for the treaty, or any of the senators, for the secrecy of the buisnes, which was much to the liking of Whitelocke, and furtherance of the treaty: they had much discourse uppon the new articles, to the same effect as formerly; and Lagerfeldt said, he doubted not butt the queen would in a short time conclude it to Whitelocke's satisfaction.

After





After this discourse, Whitelocke inquired of Lagerfeldt <sup>1653.</sup> how the chancellor's health was, and what physitians were about him. Lagerfeldt said, he was still sick of his ague, <sup>Mar. 23.</sup> and had no physitian attending him, butt one, who had bin a chirurgeon in the army, and now constantly lived in the house with the chancellor as an humble friend, sat at his table, and had a pension from him of 400 ricks dollars a year; who had some good receipts, especially for the stone, which agreed with the chancellor's constitution, which this chirurgeon only studied and attended.

And so it was generally in this great and large countrey. Whitelocke mett with no doctor of physick, or professed physitian, in any town or countrey, not any attending the person of the queen herselfe: butt there are many good women, and some private persons, who use to help people that are diseased by some ordinary known medecines; and their diseases are butt few, their remedies generally communicated, and they live many of them to a great age.

Whitelocke received letters from England, which were alwayes wellcome, especially bringing the good newes of the wellfare of his relations: he received very respectfull letters from the earle of Clare, Sir Charles Woolsey, collonell Sydenham, the master of the Rolles, Mr. Reynolds, lord commissioner L'Isle, and divers others, besides his usuall letters from his wife, Mr. Hall, Mr. Cokain, his brothers-in-lawe, and divers other friends.

In those from Thurloe he had the perticular passages of the dutch treaty, and that he believed the peace with them would be concluded: and, in those letters, Thurloe also writes thus.

“ Your



1653. Mar. 23. “ Your excellence’s of the 27th of January I communi-  
 cated to his highnes, and to the councell, who, although  
 they doe not by this tranfaction of the queen very well un-  
 derstand her intentions as to the peace, yett they are very  
 much satisfyed with the management therof on your part,  
 and commit the issue therof unto the Lord, who will either  
 blesse your indeavors by bringing things to a desired issue,  
 or otherwise dispose of this affayre to the glory of God,  
 the good of the common-wealth, and the comfort of  
 yourselfe who are imployed in it.

“ The councell, uppon consideration of the whole matter,  
 did not find it necessary to give you any further direc-  
 tions, nor did his highnes, especially seeing his last letters  
 butt one did expresse his sence uppon that treaty, and  
 nothing hath occurred since which hath given any cause  
 of alteration.

“ The french king and cardinall, seeing themselves dis-  
 appointed att the Hague, as to their inclusion in that  
 treaty, indeavor to effect it heer: and to that purpose,  
 the cardinall sent hither one Monsieur le Baas, to congra-  
 tulate his highnes, and to assure him of the friendship of  
 the king; and that, if he pleased, the king would banish  
 Charles Stuart and his family out of his dominions, and  
 proclayme the protector in France; and hath since sent  
 a commissioner to Monsieur Bourdeaux to be ambassador.

“ The spanish ambassador doth also very much court his  
 highnes and the present government. Don Francisco  
 Romero, captain of the guard to the arch-duke, arrived  
 heer the last night to congratulate his highnes in the  
 duke’s name.

“ I have



“ I have moved the councell in the two papers your ex- 1653.  
 “ currence trusted to my care: what order the councell hath  
 “ bin pleased to make theruppon, you will see by their in- Mar. 23.  
 “ closed order, and my care shall not be wanting to see an  
 “ effectuall execution therof.

“ Your excellence's humble and

“ faithfull servant,

24th Feb. 1653.

“ Jo. THURLOE.”

The councell's order was this.

Friday, 24 of February, 1653.

“ Att the councell att Whitehall.

“ On consideration of severall papers, which came inclosed  
 “ in a letter from the lord ambassador Whitelocke, and  
 “ were this day presented to the councell, containing some  
 “ complaints made by divers of the subjects of her majesty  
 “ of Sweden, viz. concerning a swedish galliot called the  
 “ Land of Promise, and a ship called the Castle of Stock-  
 “ holme, and certain goods taken out of the Gold Starre of  
 “ Hambourgh, and claymed as belonging to Alexander  
 “ Ceccony, gentleman, principall officer of the queen's  
 “ wardrobe: Ordered, That severall coppies of the said  
 “ papers be forthwith sent to the judges of the court of  
 “ admiralty, and to the commissioners for prize-goods, to  
 “ whom it is respectively referred, diligently to informe  
 “ themselves of the true state of the said ship and goods,  
 “ and what proceedings have bin had in the court of ad-  
 “ miralty, or prize office, touching the same, or any of them;  
 “ and therof to make report to the councell. And it is  
 “ especially recommended, and given in charge to the said  
 Vol. I. X x x “ judges,



1653. “ judges, that both in these, and in all matters concerning  
 ~~~~~ “ the said queen or her subjects, which doe or shall depend  
 Mar. 23. “ before them, all right and fayre respect be given uppon all
 “ occasions ; and that whatsoever of the said goods, belong-
 “ ing to her majesty’s servant, they shall discover, be by them
 “ ordered to be forthwith delivered.

“ Ex^r. W. JESSOP, Clerk of the councill.”

This order Whitelocke caused to be translated into latin, and sent coppies of it to the chancellor, to Grave^r Eric, to Mr. Ceccony, and to others ; and he showed it to the queen, and all were pleased with it, hoping for further fruit of it, and esteeming Whitelocke to be in good credit with his superiors.

24. Whitelocke made his dispatches for England, and wrote above twenty letters to severall of his friends there, finding it gratefull to them to receive letters from him att such a distance ; and that answears to letters are expected, and ill taken if neglected ; that they cost little and please much. He was hindered by Woolfeldt, who made a long yisit to him, though uppon the post day ; att which he wondered, in regard Woolfeldt had bin himselfe often imployed as a publique minister, and knew so well what belonged to the making of dispatches.

To recover his lost time, Whitelocke (as he often used when buisnes pressed him) wrote one letter himselfe, and dictated two others to his secretaries att the same time ; and so in effect wrote three letters at once.

The letter, which he now wrote to secretary Thurloe, contained his whole transactions since his last letters to him ; and the

the conclusion of the letter, shewing the state of his negotiation, was this.

1653.
Mar. 24.

“ This afternoon Grave Eric came to me from the queen,
“ who desired that my audience, appointed this day, might
“ be putt off till the holy-dayes were past ; and said, that, by
“ reason of the sacrament uppon Easter-day, this day and
“ to-morrow were to be spent in preparation therunto : butt
“ he told me, that she commaunded him to receive my
“ objections to his articles in writing ; the which I gave
“ him according to that large paper which you will receive
“ heerewith. We had very much debate uppon the perti-
“ culars, much of it according to what I have mentioned
“ before.

“ I have thought fitt to send you this large paper, that
“ you might see the whole buisnes before you att one view ;
“ and it hath cost me some pains. I shall continue my
“ best indeavors to bring your buisnes to a good effect. I
“ am putt to struggle with more difficulties then I could
“ expect, and their pollicy heer is great : one may soon be
“ overtaken with long, intricate, and new proposalls ; butt I
“ hope God will direct me, whom I doe seek, and shall not
“ willfully transgresse my instructions.

“ When I speake with the queen, she seems to be satisfyed ;
“ and then some of the grandees seek to perswade her to a con-
“ trary opinion, and to keep me from her, and lay objections
“ in the way to crosse it (for we want no ennemies heer).
“ I then indeavor agayne to satisfy the queen, and breake
“ through their designs as well as I can ; to doe which, and
“ to gett a good dispatch against all opposition, and yett so as
“ not to supplicate any thing from them, nor in the least to
“ prostitute the honor of my lord protector, and of the
“ common-

1653. "common-wealth, or to prejudice them, is a taske hard
 Mar. 24. "enough for a great favourite, much more harde for a
 "stranger, and whose differing principles may render him
 "the lesse acceptable. However, I shall hope that the Lord
 "will direct me for the best, whither they agree with my
 "judgement or not.

"If I can conclude with them, I shall presently be uppon
 "my returne, and hope, within a week or two, to receive
 "his highnes's order to give me leave to come home. What
 "I cannot consent to, or obtaine att present, I presume
 "they will be contented to have referred to a future agree-
 "ment; wherin there can be no prejudice (in my humble
 "opinion) to your affayres. I aske your pardon for my
 "tedious informations, wherin I take no pleasure; butt
 "supposing the buisnes to require it, I presume you will
 "excuse

"your very affectionate

"friend to serve you,

Ubsale, 24th March,

"B. WHITELOCKE."

Most of the night was spent by Whitelocke in making his
 dispatches for England: neither did he neglect any one
 friend, from whom he had received the favour and kindness
 of their letters to him heer; by which civility he obtained
 the more advice and intelligence from England, and made
 good use of it in this court. His constant letters from his
 wife and other private friends, he also found of much com-
 fort and advantage to him.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

1500,- (1+2)

Febr. 85

Whitlocke, Bulstrode, 1605-1675

A Journal Of The Swedish Embassy In The Years M.DC.LIII. And M.DC.LIV.
From The Commonwealth Of England, Scotland, And Ireland With An Appendix
Of Original Papers ; In Two Volumes
Bd.: 1

London (1772)

4 H.sept. 89 xk-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10361636-6